HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

September 11, 1965 Vol. XXV. No. 37

Copyright 1965 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.
Human Events is published weekly by HUMAN EVENTS, INC., 410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices.

$12.50 per year

NEWSPAPER

Communists Easily Find $100,000 For Summer Project Across U. S.

By VICTOR RIESEL

Nothing on the outside of the shabby, soot-darkened gray building—or in its dingy, barren interior—at 23 West 26th Street, New York City, insinuates that it has a paymaster who can quite easily put his hands on tens of thousands of dollars in cold cash.

But it does have a paymaster. This is the national headquarters of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and in the past 10 weeks he has been providing more than $7,500 in cash weekly to a series of youthful cadres in 11 major cities.

They total some 80 young people. Their assignment—after two weeks of rigid, secret training—has been to disperse, set up special employment clubs and operate under a slogan of "One man, one job."

Now in its final summertime stage, it was a prize project for a party still sensitive over the scolding by Moscow mentors who upbraided the American Communists for aging too fast and developing their youth cadres too slowly.

Like all dialectic gymnastics, this project had two objectives—major and minor. First, money was made available so the American Communist party could revitalize its operations by recruiting and training new youthful leaders. Second: To set up bases from which to infiltrate school systems, municipal social services, big industrial plants and defense factories—inside all of which the party could begin ultra-sonic "agit-prop" work. This stands for agitation propaganda—meaning an attempt to develop the mind set of millions of workers in the hope that disruptive demonstrations could be launched and slow-downs encouraged in the tense "war" months to come.

Orders for the 1965 Communist party project came down early this year. Swiftly, between 75 and 80 young men and women—two of them from Puerto Rico—were recruited, processed and screened to make certain that disruptive Mao-ists did not infiltrate.

Then they were flown from the island, from the West coast and from the Southern and Midwest cities to points near New Jersey. Then, by car and bus to Camp Midvale, N.J. There they were isolated for two weeks while they got the line from Mikhail Suslov, member of the Soviet Praesidium—but not in person, of course.

In person, there was Hyman Lumer, one of 50 men and women charged by the Subversive Activities Control Board with being dominated by Moscow. After the fortnight, Lumer, who is the Communists' national education director, told a friend that the assembly of these young people from all over the country had created a feeling of strength and power and greater respect for the Communist party.

The mere fact, explained Lumer, that such a group of promising students had been brought together under one roof for two weeks last June "refutes" those who are prone to consider the Communist party in the United States as an aging group with little or no future.

After the training session the youths were dispersed to the 11 cities the Communists consider most strategically located for propaganda and infiltration action.

The first cadres sped to Detroit and Chicago. Then to Philadelphia and Richmond, Va. Some stayed in New York. Others flew to St. Louis and Portland, Ore. Others drove to Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Boston.

There they set up actual clubhouses under full-time hosts and hostesses or rented small apartments.

Where they could find a store front or cellar club room, they provided coffee, doughnuts, sandwiches, female companionship with or without chaperones, and free dances.

But clubhouses or not, they did well by their pre-summer Communist instructors who had included Gus Hall, an old hand at organizing in the steel areas. They sought out job openings. They found unemployed youth and directed some of them to the shops. They linked their slogan of "One man, one job" to "Jobs, Peace and Equality."

Now the cadres are winding up their summertime project. But they are leaving behind the framework of an organization among the industrial youth—especially in Midwest cities.

From their summer school training at the New Jersey camp, they carried to the 11 cities fresh ideas and organization techniques to revive the local Communist units in old, established areas. The youngsters "sparked up" the older party people whose turbulent days are 30 to 40 years behind them.

All this took large sums of money. But this was not lacking. At least $100,000 in cold cash was supplied. Where did it come from? Some folks thought that Moscow gold had gone out of style.

Communist party secretary Gus Hall

Soviet theoretician Mikhail Suslov

Is it unreasonable to ask that the Communists explain the source of their funds? The rest of the citizenry has to report. Or are we second-class citizens unequal with the Communists under the law?

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

On Page 8:

'Operation Goldwater'

An exciting chapter from M. Stanton Evans' new book,

The Liberal Establishment

Already in its second printing, this book is destined to become a conservative classic. Get it now—direct from HUMAN EVENTS—for your permanent library.

See details on page 10.

McNamara's Policies Handicap U. S. Troops

Page 3

Some Questions for the Clergy on Rights

Page 14

More Waste in 'Poverty' Program Exposed

Page 2

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NLRB Chairman Challenged on GE Decision

By DONALD I. ROGERS

Aside from the fact that I have bought and paid for a few good appliances that say "General Electric" on them, I know little about the big manufacturing company or the people who run it, and I now find myself doubly put out with National Labor Relations Board Chairman Frank W. McCulloch who has charged that I, along with a number of other columnists and editorial writers, was duped by a GE press release.

McCulloch, in an appearance before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, was asked to comment on the uncommon amount of press criticism over the NLRB decision in the General Electric case last winter. Columnists and editorialists vigorously condemned the decision as a threat to free speech and a free press—among other things.

The NLRB chairman responded by saying that press criticism of the decision was not a reaction to the decision itself, but to a GE press release which he called "misleading."

To refresh your memory: General Electric has a labor relations program developed by retired vice president Lemuel R. Bouleware which is now in use in a number of other companies. It calls for company appraisal of its financial affairs and manufacturing commitments, and then the presentation of a "fair and firm" offer to employes whenever a union contract is due for renewal. Under the Boulware plan the company then maintains contact with its employes through correspondence and literature, keeping them posted on the situation.

For doing this, the NLRB found GE guilty of not bargaining in good faith in its 1960 wage contract negotiations with the International Union of Electrical Workers.

In effect, the NLRB decision held that by making a "fair and firm" offer and sticking with it, GE was refusing to "negotiate," and was removing the free auction spirit from the bargaining table. It also said that the communications with employes were illegal—in other words, only the union can communicate with them on wage matters.

It was a wrong decision and one which will have serious effect on collective bargaining until, hopefully, the Court of Appeals reverses it.

There has been growing concern in many circles on both sides of the labor-management fence over the alarming arrogance of the NLRB as an independent regulatory commission with quasi-judicial powers. The GE case simply provoked an outburst from the press that had been building and smoldering for a long time.

Frank W. McCulloch, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board

Struck with widescale disapproval, McCulloch now charges the American press with being duped by a press release from a private company. If this can possibly be true the press agent in GE who got out the release should be promoted to president without delay.

The truth is, it was a press release from the NLRB itself which arrived first and it was on that official release that most writers based their judgments.

It seems unlikely that the Washington *Post* and the New York *Times*, for instance, would come to the same editorial conclusions as *Human Events*, all on the basis of a press handout from a manufacturing company. Yet they did, as did papers from coast to coast.

It was a silly comment for a high public official to make, but certainly no sillier than the unfortunate decision which caused the ruckus.

(Copyright 1965, Independent Features Syndicate)

□ □ □

MAJOR OBJECTIVE—Noting the Berlin Wall was erected four years ago this August, the joint Senate-House GOP leadership called for "the return of freedom and unity to all the German people." The Republican leaders said "this must remain a major objective of U.S. foreign policy until the wall is no more."

Chattanooga Youth Corps Expenses Are Example for Rest of Nation

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Chattanoogans are aware that a branch of the LBJ-WPA called the "Neighborhood Youth Corps" is in existence here. But unless they noted two recent actions by the city school board, they may not be aware just how out of proportion the NYC has gotten.

Everybody knows that education is the biggest local tax expense, so it was no surprise when the school board adopted a city education budget of $10,072,976 for the coming year.

But at the same session, the school board, under which the NYC operates, approved a budget of $4,721,555 for the NYC program.

A glance shows that this means the NYC would get almost half as much money as the schools.

City schools will use about $10 million of your dollars to educate 25,000 youngsters with a staff of about 1,100 teachers.

The NYC would use nearly $5 million of your dollars to subsidize make-work jobs for 2,500 youngsters in school and 800 out of school—a total of 3,300—with a staff consisting of the present 21, plus 35 additional, plus 50 college students as summer counselors.

Does something seem out of joint to you? Does it appear that things are out of proportion when we spend $10 million for the primary purpose of educating 25,000 and spend $5 million for a sideline purpose of aiding 3,300?

Oh, it is explained, the NYC program is to pay young people $1.25 an hour to enable them to stay in school or to encourage them to go back to school. But it's odd encouragement for schooling when those who continue their studies are limited to 15 hours of work a week for $18.75, but can drop out of school and become eligible for 32 hours of work and be paid $40 a week. The incentive seems to run the wrong way.

And the "work," in some cases, is an education in itself—also in the wrong way, for it includes unproductive make-work and frequently is not worth the price the national union bosses forced the LBJ Administration to adopt.

Only one member of the city school board exercised the judgment and courage to vote against this outrageous, out-of-proportion NYC program (of which the Chattanooga story is only one sample out of the nation). He is Corley Young, who declared, "I was against it before and I am not going to vote for it now."

Congratulations, Mr. Young! And thank you. If the people of Chattanooga really understood the program and the cost they are being forced to pay for it—half the budget for our entire city school system—we believe the majority would join you in voting against it if they had the chance.

ROCK ISLAND

Pipe, Fittings, and Oil Well Tubular Goods Made of Fiber Glass and Epoxy Resin Used Wherever Corrosion Is a Problem.

Rock Island Oil & Refining Co., Inc.

WICHITA 2, KANSAS

How HARYOU Has Wasted Funds

From the Allen-Scott Report

Those teams of staff investigators Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.), chairman of the Labor Committee, says he is sending around the country for "on-the-spot inspections of the anti-poverty program" don't have to go far to strike pay dirt.

They can find plenty of it right in the junketeering lawmaker's own bailiwick.

Most of a $230,000 federal grant to set in motion an anti-poverty plan in Harlem was eaten up in high salaries and high expense accounts.

Livingston Wingate, one-time Powell assistant, led the juicy salary list with $17,500. And more than $2,000 went for rooms, meals, refreshments, flowers and other comforts at a week-end planning session at a plush mountain resort—many miles from Harlem.

As pieced together by Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), "one-man investigating committee" whose jarring exposes include triggering the sensational Bobby Baker probe, details of the costly launching of the HARYOU project are as follows:

Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. (HARYOU) was largely initiated by Rep. Powell for the avowed purpose of combating unemployment, juvenile delinquency, improving housing, education, etc. A number of officials and consultants were hired—from lists approved by Powell.

Heading the group was Wingate, his former assistant.

Other healthy anti-poverty stipends were: Project director $14,000; program coordinator $13,000; special assistant $12,500; two trainee supervisors $8,500 each; office manager $7,500; receptionist-typist $4,500; two stenographers at $4,160 and $3,640.

After getting a $230,000 organizing grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by Sargent Shriver, the HARYOU authorities got busy mapping out a number of programs to be financed by a $1.4-million OEO allocation.

In the course of their heavy skullwork, they decided it could be greatly facilitated if pursued during a week-end in the cool, quiet and luxurious accommodations of the plush mountain resort at Suffern, N.Y.

Cost to the taxpayers of that two-day junket was $2,168.26.

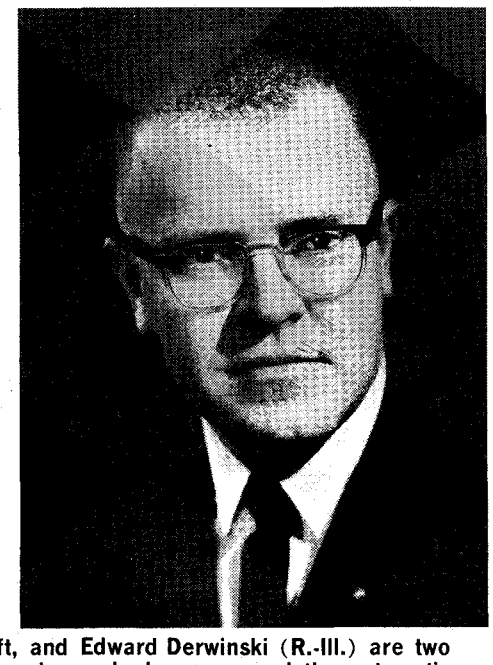
Among the expense items uncovered by Sen. Williams was $12.85 for rental of a tuxedo for Kenneth Marshall, HARYOU program director. Also $63.20 for flowers for an "open house."

"This was one of the meetingest groups I ever heard of," says Sen. Williams. "Apparently they met morning, noon and night, and ate every time at the expense of the taxpayers. They even had a coffee break charge of $14.50 while discussing how to spend public money.

"I suppose, in order to get down to the level where he could fittingly discuss poverty and what to do about it, Marshall felt it desirable to dress formally. So he rented a tuxedo at government expense."

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Representatives H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), left, and Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.) are two Post Office and Civil Service Committee members who have opposed the automatic features of the bill.

Automatic Raises for Congressmen Hidden in 'Salary Adjustment' Act

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service came up the other day with a truly tailor-made bill. The committee decreed an increase from $100 to $150 in the uniform allowance for the mailman, and arranged to have the coat-tails cut wide enough for congressmen to ride on.

As an exercise in legislative one-upmanship, the committee's "Federal Salary Adjustment Act of 1965" stands in a class by itself. It contains a real tricker. And in any primer for freshmen congressmen, the device deserves a chapter all its own: "How to Vote Yourself a Pay Raise Without Actually Aye-ing."

This adorable gimmick is tucked away in a little old 10-line section on page 38 of a 39-page bill. Without a code book to figure out the code book, you scarcely would know it is there.

What it says, translated into English, is that whenever salary rates for ordinary federal employes are raised, the salaries of congressmen, judges and government executives "shall be increased automatically." The amount of these prospective pay raises is to be computed according to the highest percentage of increase given to anyone else.

The beauty of this arrangement emerges from the context of the bill. Under the committee proposal, the two million federal employes are promised two raises in pay, one to become effective October 1 of this year, and the other Oct. 1, 1966. (These would be the 12th and 13th general pay raises since 1945, not that it really matters.) This year's raise is specific: 4.5 per cent across the board. The cost to the taxpayers: $621.6 million for the rest of the current fiscal year.

The second raise is not specific at all. It is predicated upon some complicated assumptions that can be illustrated in the case of a beginning mailman. He now starts at $5,000. This figure would be increased to $5,230 under the first raise, effective in October. However, the committee assumes that this hypothetical mailman, even with his 4.5 per cent raise, still will be making 1.5 per cent less than a mailman would make in private industry, if private industry employed mailmen.

The formula for the second raise would begin by granting, as a first factor, a raise equal to half of this presumptive gap between public and private employment. In the case of the starting mailman, this would amount to about $40. Then the Bureau of Labor Statistics would make a study for the President of private industry salaries, generally, in February and March of next year. Acting on this study, the President would certify, as a second factor, a percentage increase for each class of federal employes.

The committee's surmise is that by March of 1966, the President will find that the salary of a mailman in private industry will have gone up another 3 per cent, or roughly $160. The formula would add the $40 under the first factor to the $160 under the second factor, and produce a raise of roughly $200 effective Oct. 1, 1966.

All clear? Like mud? Well, that is the way the bill works, and it is anybody's guess whether the House committee is within a country mile of the cost of this nebulous plan. The putative added expense is placed at $1.4 billion (not counting the raises of the coat-tail congressmen) for fiscal 1967, and $1.6 billion for fiscal 1968. After that the game begins anew.

Meanwhile, starting in January of 1967, members of Congress would benefit by raises equal to the highest raise, percentagewise, given to anyone else. The prospect is for a 10 per cent boost, on top of the fat increases granted just a year ago.

To their lasting credit, six Republican members of the House committee recorded their strong protest against the automatic features of the bill. Their names should be writ large: Gross of Iowa, Derwinski of Illinois, Broyhill of North Carolina, Corbett of Pennsylvania, Ellsworth of Kansas, and Buchanan of Alabama. In the great rush to get while the getting is good, they constitute a corporal's guard crying halt. Who pays them any heed?

(Copyright 1965, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

☐ ☐ ☐

EXPERT—Mayor Wagner of New York is being mentioned as possible secretary of the new Department of Housing and Urban Affairs. Washington wags suggest he is familiar with every conceivable urban problem, and all he'd have to learn would be some solutions.—From *NAM Reports*

'Dangerous Thinking' Blamed

McNamara Breaks Spending Record Yet U.S. Troops Lack Many Items

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Some congressmen believe that never before in the field of preparedeness have so many owed so little to a secretary of defense.

Robert McNamara, who has spent more money than any previous defense secretary in our history, has managed to place the most powerful nation on earth in the position of finding its defense pantry seriously short of certain items badly needed for the war in Viet Nam.

It is almost unforgivable, since the secretary cannot plead surprise. The situation in Viet Nam has been obvious for several years, and the possibility of a heavy U.S. involvement, such as has taken place on an ascending scale since last February, was always present. Any defense planning that did not take that possibility into account could only be put down to dangerous wishful thinking.

Not only are we short of some items in Viet Nam, but a secret report of the Senate preparedness subcommittee discloses that the demands of the Asian war have left us seriously short of necessary men and equipment in other parts of the world.

Over-all, not one single new development of our defenses has come from McNamara's administration of the Defense Department. The major contribution has been the establishment of certain bookkeeping and computer procedures which, although laudable in a housekeeping sense, are scarcely a towering monument to the secretary's judgment, his concept of defense or his grasp of the real world of total conflict.

As early as the middle of the last presidential campaign, Republicans were calling for increased preparation for the war in Viet Nam. Long lists of items needed and requested by the troops there were issued, but to no avail. Whenever the heat went up at the Pentagon, McNamara always hauled out his blackboard and chalk and lectured everyone into a figure-bedazzled sense of false security.

McNamara's deliberate downgrading of Viet Nam demands has, for two years, slowly sapped our supplies so that today we may face a bill of up to $12 billion for crash-program additions to our arsenal. Concern that interim emergencies may have to be met by shuffling supplies back and forth between units is growing every day.

Certain types of ammunition needed in Viet Nam are in a critical supply state. This is due to McNamara's cutting of inventories—like a good bookkeeper, but a poor secretary of defense.

We are caught in the midst of a Korean-style war with an alarming shortage of tactical aircraft. Recently, during a single day's fighting, six F-105 fighter-bombers were knocked down by Communist anti-aircraft gunners. The loss was an abnormally hard blow because of our having only marginal reserves of this plane. Strategic aircraft are in as bad shape, thanks to McNamara. Losses of B-57 bombers, for example, have had to be made up by replacements from the Air National Guard.

This is the same Robert McNamara who has fought tooth and nail against all military requests for the continued production of manned aircraft. In short, he hasn't been policy-blind only in regard to the needs in Viet Nam, but he has been policy-blind and purposefully deaf to the needs of the armed services over-all.

Now that the grownups are at work in Viet Nam, now that the shooting has increased, all of the McNamara whiz-kid, slide-rule, adding machine theorizing stands exposed for what it was all along—wishful and dangerous day dreaming.

The American people, who have only seen McNamara before through the starry eyes of his army of press agents, official and otherwise, now have a chance to see him in the cold, demanding light of war. It is not a particularly pleasant sight.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

☐ ☐ ☐

GOD OFFERS to everyone his choice between truth and repose. Take what you please. You cannot have both.
—Ralph Waldo Emerson

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

JOIN THE PASS-ALONG CLUB

When you have finished reading this copy of **Human Events**, pass it along to a friend. It's an easy way to circulate news from the conservative front. Buy copies of this issue of **Human Events** and other issues that you like. See below for prices.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"I can say without qualification HUMAN EVENTS is the most interesting periodical I read, and each week I eagerly await the arrival of my next issue. Your articles cover many of the inside stories of the government which are omitted by practically all of the newspapers and magazines."—Bill Owens, Easton, Pa.

Enter My Subscription to Human Events

410 First St., S. E., Washington, D.C. 20003

☐ One year $12.50 ☐ Two years $19.90 ☐ Five years $49.75
☐ Six months $7 ☐ Five weeks $1

Name _____

Street _____

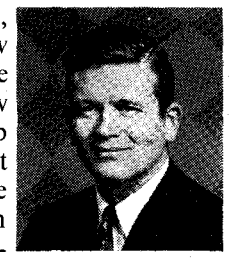
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Also, send me _____ copies of the _____ (date) issue of **Human Events**. $ .35 per issue (coins, not stamps), 4 copies $1; 9 for $2; 25 copies $5; 52 copies $10; 110 copies $20; 300 copies $50; 500 copies $75; 1,000 copies $140. Allow three weeks for delivery. These prices are for regular delivery. Air Mail, Express, or Special Handling extra. In lots of 5,000 or more, $120 per thousand plus shipping cost.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAPITOL CAMERA

• John Lindsay has picked Milton Mollen, a top official in the administration of Democratic Mayor Robert Wagner, as his running mate for New York City controller. The Rockefeller-controlled New York Young Republican Club has endorsed Democrat Mollen. Yet this is what the Gotham YRs said of Mollen prior to his selection by Lindsay: "For some months now, the press and this club have called to the attention of the city administration and to the attention of Milton Mollen in particular slum conditions which he has immediate responsibility of eradicating. Mr. Mollen's answer has been continued inaction and indifference. We submit that Mr. Mollen cannot effectively discharge the responsibilities assigned to him. And we demand that he resign forthwith."


LINDSAY

• *Mississippi voters have sent a 29-year old self-styled Goldwater Republican to the state Senate. Lawyer William E. Corr is the first Republican to be elected to the upper house of the state legislature since Reconstruction. Corr won a special election in Panola County, trouncing his Democratic opponent by more than 2 to 1.*

• Where's the hue-and-cry from the liberals? Entertainer Steve Allen says he's considering running in Los Angeles' 26th Congressional District for the seat now held by Jimmy Roosevelt who plans to resign in order to take a United Nations post. So far, however, there's been no mention by the liberals that Allen shouldn't run because he's "only a comic"—even though they mercilessly beat George Murphy over the head as "only a song-and-dance" man when he ran for senator last year and are presently trying to crush Ronald Reagan with the "actor" charge.

ROOSEVELT

• *In spite of American aid to Poland, that Red-run country continues to help out the North Viet Nam Communists in a variety of ways. In the August 24 issue of* Freedom Fighter, *the official daily newspaper of the Polish armed forces, it is revealed that Poland is sending military men and equipment to North Viet Nam, including the Polish manufactured STAR cross-country vehicle, used for military purposes.*

• Conservatives are not the only ones wondering where the money is going to come from to pay for both the Viet Nam war and the "Great Society." Liberal Sen. Stephen M. Young (D.-Ohio) delivered this orchid to his constituents: "Every dollar spent for waging war in Viet Nam means one less taxpayer's dollar that may be spent somewhere else . . . . If our President asks Congress for more billions in addition to the billions already spent on our armed forces, including his supplementary request of $1.7 billion, then we must consider eliminating some programs of the "Great Society" and very definitely do everything possible to keep that annual budget under $100 billion." Yes, that's what he said.

YOUNG

• *LBJ's managed news department: The President, it seems, doesn't like answering questions on televised news conferences, so he keeps dreaming up ways to fend them off. Latest ploy: LBJ has requested government agencies to furnish him newsworthy material which he can relate to reporters at the conferences. The purpose: to eat up the time that reporters might otherwise use to throw him some hot potatoes.*

This Week in Washington

Stunning Defeat in Dominica

The Dominican crisis has been partly solved—to the advantage of the Communists. That's the consensus, to borrow a term in vogue, among important anti-Communist Latins and Latin American experts who have followed the dramatic series of events in the Dominican Republic since the start of the pro-Communist rebellion last April.

The United States initially sent down the Marines to prevent a Red-style take-over; then it proceeded to protect the rebels in Santo Domingo. Last week, the pro-Communists and the Reds gained another major victory when the Imbert Barrera junta, under U.S. pressure, resigned to make room for an ex-aide to Juan Bosch, Hector Garcia Godoy.

While Garcia is not considered an extreme radical, the agreement pushed on the Dominican Republic by the United States makes him a captive of leftist elements.

One of Garcia's first major acts as provisional president will be to issue a blanket pardon to some 2,000 pro-Communist rebel prisoners. In addition, he is reported ready to remove several anti-Communist elements from power, including the highly respected Gen. Wessin y Wessin.

But what has really astounded previous supporters of LBJ's policy is this amazing fact: The leftist elements in the Dominican Republic are today stronger than they were at the start of the revolution. This is confirmed by a number of sources.

Colombia's ambassador to the OAS, Alfredo Vazquez Carrizosa, was recently quoted as saying that "communism has progressed since the beginning of the conflict and the extreme left parties are better organized and with more instruments of propaganda and action. The command of the Inter-American force admits the existence of 'guerrilla schools' in the area of Santo Domingo's so-called 'new city.' It would be an unexplainable paradox that the Communist danger is prospering in the shade of the Inter-American Peace Force."

The strength of the rebels has also been noted by none other than Juan Bosch, the exiled poet in whose name the revolution was started. In exile in Puerto Rico, the pro-Communist Bosch hailed the resignation of Imbert as an action which made the rebels "victorious and at this moment stronger than on April 24" when the rebellion began.

The most severe indictment of this new twist in the Dominican affair comes from Paul Bethel, an ex-foreign service officer who traveled to the Dominican Republic during the recent crisis.

Here's what he tells *Human Events* (most of which he says will appear in his authoritative *Latin American Report*):

"What it means is a qualified, but very important victory for the Communists and future travail for the Dominican people. Communist manipulators of the revolt are increasingly evident in the higher circles of government. Guerrilla camps in the center of Santo Domingo have been turning out cadres of professional agitators, prepared to take over administrative posts in the countryside. At least 3,000 trainees have slipped out of the tiny rebel enclave and are now operating in back-country farming areas, in the mountains, and in the small towns.

"The Castro-oriented June 14th Movement is setting up forces to continue with subversion. The June 14th Movement is prepared to fight, if necessary, to get control of one or more of the interior cities. Of the Communist groups with the rebel forces of nominal leader Col. Francisco Caamano Deno, the June 14th Movement is by far the most militant and the most powerful. For months it has been recruiting youths from the countryside and sending them to the capital, Santo Domingo, for Communist training. What's more, they maintain control when that training has been completed.

These activists, says Bethel, are being infiltrated into selected organizations such as the 130,000-member National Confederation of Free Workers, CONATRAL, the teacher's unions (already heavily infiltrated), student groups, etc. In the event their political and subversive apparatus fails to subvert the country in the nine months preceding elections, says Bethel, they are prepared to take up arms again.

What does the opposition have? Virtually nothing to cope with this sort of warfare. Moreover, says Bethel, with the Dominican people roughly 70 per cent illiterate, "a fertile field is open to the Communists for exploitation. They are about as ready for election in nine months as a nine-year old is ready to vote for the President of the United States."

Bethel says that ex-president Juan Bosch, who helped direct the strategy of the rebels from his sanctuary on U.S. territory in Puerto Rico, "is expected to return and heap fuel on the fires of anti-Americanism and 'anti-imperialism' (also meaning the United States).

"It is well to remember that on March 16, just five weeks before the Communist-inspired revolt, the Central Committee of the PSP-D (Communist party) issued a manifesto calling for 'the return of Prof. Juan Bosch to legitimate control of the government.' It went on to say that 'the entire population must fight in the streets, in the squares, in the factories, in the fields, for the return of Juan Bosch at the head of the Constitutional Government.'"

This turn of events is stunning, suggests Bethel, since the United States, after setting up the Imbert junta, then pulled the rug out from under it.

"The rug-pulling act was performed last May by special White House envoy McGeorge Bundy and Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance. Bundy in particular, says Bethel, was swayed by initial press accounts from the Dominican Republic which refused to recognize the Communist menace, romanticized rebel leader Caamano, and painted the Imbert Barrera junta and the Dominican military in brilliant right-wing dictatorial hues. It was this hatchet job which apparently frightened the special U.S. negotiators.

"The political compromises which followed President Johnson's strong initial stand mean that, now in the open, the Communists have been given a legal (if not moral) authority and are prepared to defeat their unorganized opposition."

Operation 14b

The White House forces have been working energetically behind the scenes to "Block that filibuster" planned by conservative-minded senators opposed to repeal of right-to-work, but so far their efforts have gone unrewarded.

At the moment, politicos are predicting that the filibuster coalition will prevent repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act's famous 14b clause, thus simultaneously handing a heavy defeat to Lyndon and striking a strong blow for the working man.

While Lyndon's boys have been threatening and wooing Northern Democrats, so far the main operation has been directed against senators from the South.

In fronting for the Administration, majority whip Sen. Russell Long (D.-La.) has been telling fellow Southerners the Administration will find ways to dilute the filibuster in the future if they dare to filibuster right-to-work. This is a hoary battle-cry, however, and legislators don't believe it will carry much weight.

Far more significant has been the White House threat that cotton farmers and textile mill operators

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will lose important subsidies unless they bow to White House wishes.

But even this threat is not making Southern senators quake and textile employers associations in the South have let it be known that if it comes to a choice between subsidy losses and right-to-work, they want right-to-work.

The Administration is also using the carrot as well as the stick. The White House has informed George Meany, AFL-CIO president, that if he wants to win over some farm state senators to the anti-14b cause, the AFL-CIO will have to withdraw its objection to changing the current agricultural law which makes it mandatory that 50 per cent of surplus grain sold to the Soviets be shipped on American flag vessels. This law has prevented the Soviets from buying as much wheat as they would like, since it usually costs more to ship goods on American flag vessels than on foreign barges.

Some farm state senators, including liberal Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), have indicated they would vote for repeal of right-to-work only if they could get more farm products shipped to Communist countries by dropping the 50-per-cent requirement. But few senators are seen as willing to shift their position because of such bribe attempts.

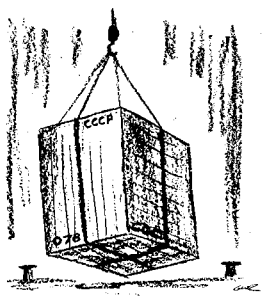
Further threats and coaxing from both the Administration and Big Labor will undoubtedly come in the future, but so far the filibuster coalition has refused to become unglued.

• Both Democratic and Republican cloakrooms are still filled with talk about the dramatic speech Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) gave before the Senate Republican Policy Committee which persuaded the GOP to scout for members willing to back a filibuster. Thurmond is reported to have said: "From time to time we have done considerable talking about significant issues and taking them to the public. There is no more fundamental issue than an individual's right to get and hold a job without having to pay any tribute." The unsung heroes of the filibuster are Senators Paul Fannin, the freshman Arizona Republican who personally wheedled, cajoled and persuaded fellow Republicans into supporting the filibuster, and the 78-year-old A. Willis Robertson (D.-Va.), who swung a number of fellow Democrats into line.

• Eyebrows have been raised in Capitol Hill over Sen. George Murphy's vote to bring the right-to-work repealer out of the Senate Labor Committee. Murphy, a conservative, had reportedly given his word to fellow Republicans that he would oppose repeal of right-to-work. Murphy's office, however, indicates he's now uncommitted and will make his mind up later. A number of Republicans, nevertheless, say they think they can count on Murphy when the chips are down.

Anti-Red Trade Group Pushed

In the face of a feverish Administration drive to expand trade with the Communists, Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (R.-Calif.) has called upon his fellow lawmakers to re-establish the bipartisan House Select Committee on Export Control which did so much in the 87th Congress to head off government-supported Red trade deals. The California congressman said, "I have heard from many people about this matter, not only from the congressional district which I represent, but from across the nation expressing support for this resolution. Millions of American people do not like what is going on and would welcome such a committee."



In recent months, noted Lipscomb, in plugging for the committee, the Administration has been authorizing for shipment to Communist nations equipment, food and data which could aid the Reds in spectacular fashion—both economically and militarily.

Among the items authorized: supplies for use in the manufacture of truck and car tires, equipment to produce truck and automobile motors, petroleum cracking plants, steel processing plants, plastic production facilities, copper scrap, oil production equipment, electronic parts, construction machinery, chemicals and fertilizers.

On July 8, Lipscomb pointed out, the Commerce Department authorized the shipment of $3.3 million worth of chemical wood pulp to the Soviet Union. This pulpwood is for use in the manufacture of rayon tire cord which, in turn, is used for the production of tires.

On July 13, said the lawmaker, the department issued a license authorizing shipment to the USSR of precision grinding machines used in the production of automotive crankshafts and camshafts, two of the most critical components of a motor.

This is only a fraction of what has been authorized for sale to the Soviets.

Equally amazing, said Lipscomb, is that several months ago the Department of Commerce authorized for sale to the Soviet Union technical data vital for the production of a strategic chemical called polystrene. Polystrene is used to help produce a whole array of vital military weapons, including our advanced Minuteman missile.

In addition, said Lipscomb, the Administration is trying to conclude a new wheat deal with the Soviets and has liberalized the guarantee of commercial credits by the Export-Import Bank on sales to the Red bloc. The previous guarantees had been for five years, but in the case of a refining unit cleared for sale to Rumania, the guarantee runs to seven and one-half years.

The California congressman pooh-poohed the Administration idea that trade would somehow bring peace. In spite of recent trade, he noted, the USSR is heavily committed to help North Viet Nam in its aggression against South Viet Nam.

This commitment, he added, includes Soviet training of North Viet Nam pilots, Soviet surface-to-air missiles and missile launchers in North Viet Nam, Russian trawlers operating off Guam to give warning of B-52 strikes and reports that the Soviets are supplying railroad equipment to North Viet Nam.

"And yet," charged Lipscomb, "we go blithely selling things to the Red bloc which may very well end up being used in support of Communist aggressors in Viet Nam. Does it make sense to help equip and feed the Soviets who are helping the aggressors kill our soldiers in Viet Nam?"

Atom Bomb for Sukarno?

Two members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Clement Zablocki (D.-Wis.) and William Broomfield (R.-Mich.), are searching for new ways to block an Administration offer to Sukarno to extend for five years Indonesia's use of an atomic reactor supplied that country by the United States under the "atoms-for-peace" program. The hour in the congressional session is late, however, and it will be difficult for them to stop the Administration on this score.

Both Broomfield and Zablocki, aware that the offer might be renewed, told Administration officials they were flatly against the project, but the Administration extended the offer last week on a most peculiar date: the anniversary of the independence of Malaysia, the anti-Communist country Sukarno has vowed to "crush."

Broomfield said last week: "Indonesia's Sukarno has made it a matter of national policy to destroy Malaysia, a nation less than one-tenth Indonesia's size and with emphasis upon economic growth rather than military conquest.

"As a reward for this aggression, the United States has supplied Indonesia with an atomic reactor and is paying part of the cost of the building to house it.

"With this reactor, Indonesia can train atomic scientists to create the atomic bomb which Sukarno states his nation will explode in the near future."

With the Kappa 8 rockets Sukarno recently purchased from Japan, noted the Michigan congressman, Indonesia will have the beginning of a delivery system for these atomic bombs.

Broomfield ended on this sarcastic note: "Happy birthday, Malaysia."

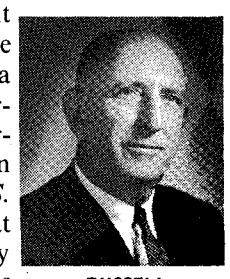
CAPITOL CAMERA

• The reliable, non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* has kept score on the freshmen Republicans who have most strongly opposed the spend-spend programs of the "Great Society." The winner, Rep. John Buchanan (R.-Ala.), who has been against LBJ on 11 of 12 key votes. Also, taking into account all 66 roll-call votes—on both major and minor matters—on which Johnson has announced a position, Buchanan has opposed the President more often than any other freshman GOP member.

BUCHANAN

• *Young Americans for Freedom, the nation's largest conservative youth group, celebrated its fifth anniversary in Washington, D.C., last week as more than 1,000 young people from all over the country gathered to hear speakers including Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), American Conservative Union head Don Bruce, Mme. Suzanne Labin and former Goldwater aide Karl Hess. The convention paid tribute to outgoing YAF Chairman Robert Bauman, who has been a chief architect of the organization's success. The new chairman is Tom Charles Huston of Indiana, a leading figure in the YAF drive to oust the ultra-liberal National Student Association from the nation's campuses and to minimize the effectiveness of NSA's propaganda.*

• Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.) charged last week that the United States might have stopped the war in Viet Nam if it had used force to remove Russian missiles from Cuba in 1962. The influential chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee said in an interview published in *U.S. News and World Report* that "if we had reacted vigorously when we found those missiles in Cuba, it would have had a very salutary effect all over the world that would have influenced the course of events everywhere there's a contact between the free world and communism."


RUSSELL

• *Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, a Democrat, has told the Rev. Martin Luther King to his face that he is performing a "great disservice to the people of Los Angeles and the nation." Yorty criticized King for "talking about lawlessness, killing, looting and burning in the same context as our police department."*

• LBJ has sent his Postmaster General, John Gronouski, to Poland to serve as ambassador because he loused up the mail service and handed plush jobs in the Post Office to friends of Democrats, jobs LBJ originally said were to be reserved for economically deprived children—that at least is the reaction of Washington politicos. But LBJ's troubles with Gronouski may not be over. Rep. Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, points out that Gronouski "is a complete novice in foreign affairs," and until he became Postmaster General didn't speak the Polish language (Gronouski reportedly takes a Berlitz course in Washington). "What we need rather than this empty gesture of appointing a prominent Polish-American as ambassador to Warsaw," says Derwinski, "is a policy based on the legitimate interests of the people of Poland. . . ."

GRONOUSKI

• *Employment in the executive branch of government has soared to the highest point in more than a decade. Civilian employment jumped by more than 34,000 to 2,542,590, according to Sen. Harry Byrd (D.-Va.). This is the highest point since June 1953.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Leftists Plan Worldwide Protest

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

California leftists are quietly mapping worldwide protests against American intervention in South Viet Nam.

A confidential government report reveals that leaders of a Berkeley group, the Viet Nam Day Committee, will proclaim October 15 and 16 as "international days of protest." They plan to stage widespread acts of civil disobedience throughout the world in opposition to U.S. policy.

Leaders of the Viet Nam Day Committee have in recent weeks garnered international publicity with Berkeley demonstrations designed to halt trains carrying soldiers destined for South Viet Nam.

A leader of the Viet Nam Day Committee is Paul Ivory, an assistant professor at the University of California's Berkeley campus. Ivory believes the October demonstrations will result in the arrest of hundreds of demonstrators whose subsequent trials will serve to spotlight political "persecution" in this country.

At least two other Berkeley professors are active in the Viet Nam Day protests. Stephen Smale, a professor of mathematics, was in his student days a member of the Labor Youth League, a now-defunct Communist front. Morris Hirsch, another mathematics professor, heads the university's Faculty Peace Committee.

A co-chairman of the Viet Nam Day Committee is Jerry Rubin, a youthful leftist who in 1964 traveled to Castro Cuba in defiance of a State Department ban. Rubin was an active participant in the tumultuous Washington demonstrations held earlier this month to denounce American "aggression" in South Viet Nam.

Others leaders of the Viet Nam Day Committee include Mario Savio and Bettina Aptheker, key figures in the University of California's Free Speech Movement.

Savio has expressed the hope that American jails will be filled to overcrowding with "political prisoners"

Free Speech Movement leader Mario Savio hopes U.S. jails will be filled by "political prisoners."

on October 16. Miss Aptheker, daughter of a leading U.S. Communist, Herbert Aptheker, has told a Viet Nam Day rally that she expects to be summoned before a Senate subcommittee probing Red activities on the American campus. She has vowed to flout the subcommittee, headed by Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.).

A government report reveals that "the Viet Nam Day Committee is getting support from many subversive organizations." They include the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Communist-controlled W.E.B. Dubois Clubs, the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party and its front group, the May 2nd Movement.

Note: The first American to escape from the Communist Viet Cong has reported that the activities of anti-war demonstrators back home demoralize U.S. soldiers in South Viet Nam.

"These people are very disheartening to the troops over there facing death today," Sgt. Isaac Camacho said in a recent interview at his El Paso, Tex., home.

* * *

Arkansas Sen. J. William Fulbright has deleted from the foreign aid bill a provision that would bar aid to any nation engaged in trade with North Viet Nam. Such a provision had earlier won House approval, but Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, insisted on its removal in a joint House-Senate conference.

Rep. Charles Chamberlain (R.-Mich.) reports that six nations now engaged in trade with North Viet Nam are slated to receive U.S. handouts during the next year.

Rep. Paul Rogers (D.-Fla.) revealed that the U.S. build-up in South Viet Nam is using ships from the same countries that aid Hanoi. In a House speech, Rogers said:

"Ironically, the sea-lift of American supplies to Saigon has required the use of ships flying the flags of the same free world countries helping to keep the Viet Cong supplied. In effect, we are still doing business with our friends even though they are trading with our enemies."

The Florida congressman said that British, Norwegian and Greek shippers had been paid almost $2 billion since January for hauling U.S. government cargoes to South Viet Nam. During the same period, he said, 83 ships flying the British, Norwegian and Greek flags have arrived at North Vietnamese ports with vital supplies.

(Copyright 1965 King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

□ □ □

CUBAN NARCOTICS—Cuban refugees have informed federal agents in Miami that the Castro regime has developed a secret department in the National Institute of Agrarian Reform to develop narcotics trade. Crops of marijuana and opium are grown in several areas of Cuba's Oriente Province, once a fine tobacco growing area. Detachments of militiamen guard the precious drugs, which are then processed, smuggled into the United States, and sold for badly needed dollars.

Minimum Wage Debate

Why Not $100 an Hour?

By RUSSELL KIRK

Congress is debating a union-backed proposal to raise the national minimum wage to $1.75 an hour. It is difficult to conceive of a measure which could do more social mischief, just now.

The dollar is in serious trouble; further inflation might make devaluation necessary. And sudden increase of general wages, without proportionate increase in productivity, is direct inflation of costs and prices. America's national income has been increasing much less rapidly than that of several other countries over the past few years.

To pay for Medicare, an enormous new load of Social Security taxes will be felt next year. In such circumstances, abrupt increase of wage-rates (for this measure, in effect, would increase not merely the minimum wage, but would force all wages upward) might very well throw the whole economy into confusion, with results comparable to those of the 1929 crash.

Yet one result of raising the minimum hourly wage to $1.75 could be even more dismaying. I refer to the fact that a good many people would be rendered unemployable, with the minimum wage at that level. Already we have hundreds of thousands of men and women—particularly young people—who cannot be employed at any gainful work, because the present minimum wage is simply more than their labor is worth to any employer. They subsist on welfare assistance, and in boredom. To double their numbers not only would be to make many people miserable, but to increase the rate of violence and crime.

In the great Los Angeles riots, as in such disturbances elsewhere, the gangs of trouble-makers are composed principally of young unemployed Negroes. Inexperienced and untrained, they cannot be hired by an employer, because he would lose money if he paid them $1.25 an hour—let alone $1.75 an hour. Is it better to be totally unemployed than to work for $1 an hour, say?

So compulsory idleness and consequent resentment might double, with an extravagantly high minimum wage. What Negroes and other low-income groups in the big cities require is work, not more abstract "civil rights." Just who would benefit by this demagogic demand for a sudden increase of wages? Not, surely, the unemployed. True, the vanity of labor union bosses might be gratified by such a triumph of their Washington lobbies.

Genuine wage increases, accompanied by a proportionate increase in purchasing power, are not produced by acts of Congress. Only the increase of productivity makes wage raises possible. If we really could make every employe prosperous by a new statute, why stop at $1.75 an hour? Why not set $100 per hour as the minimum wage?

Even a union boss, replying to this question, would declare that few men's labor is worth $100 an hour; the economy wouldn't stand such a strain, and many people would be forced out of employment. Just so. But in so declaring, an advocate of a higher minimum wage confesses that a mere piece of legislation cannot increase real wages. Also he confesses that the higher the wage set by statute, the more people must be unemployable.

Anyone who enjoyed the Watts riots ought to support the bill to raise the minimum wage now. That proposal might well be entitled "An Act to Increase Unemployment and Enlarge the Slums."

(Copyright 1965, General Features Corp.)

HOW PRESIDENT KENNEDY REALLY WAS KILLED!
READ THE CONTROVERSIAL NEW BOOK—By George C. Thomson, B. S.
Point of Origin of Five Shots Determined By Physics and Mathematics, Identifying Suspect With Gun in Crowd.
"THE QUEST FOR TRUTH"
Send $2.00 @, To: **GEORGE C. THOMSON ENGRG. CO.**
1528 Canada Blvd.
Glendale, California 91208

Inflationary Wage Increases Slow Down Building Industry

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

President Johnson's Council on Economic Advisors has suggested that labor unions confine their demands for wage and fringe increases to a 3 per cent formula.

Labor unions have completely ignored this suggestion. Every increase in wages and fringes obtained by unions this year has exceeded the requested formula.

The 3 per cent formula was to compensate for a 3 per cent average increase in national production.

No part of organized labor has repudiated this 3 per cent increase formula to a degree as have building trades unions. Wage and fringe increases for building trades union members have averaged from 6 to 7 per cent.

Contractors in the building and construction industry have given up trying to bargain with labor unions to accept lower wage and fringe benefits rates and have given construction trades unions practically every increase they have asked for. And they have transferred these increases to job costs.

Increased wage and fringe costs affect every part of the building industry, from home building to government construction. Already there is a decrease in privately financed house construction. The average individual simply cannot afford a new home at present day prices.

Although commercial and government financed construction is still substantial, higher construction costs will eventually also limit this type of construction. Any slowdown in our economy due to inflationary prices will first become evident in the vast construction industry.

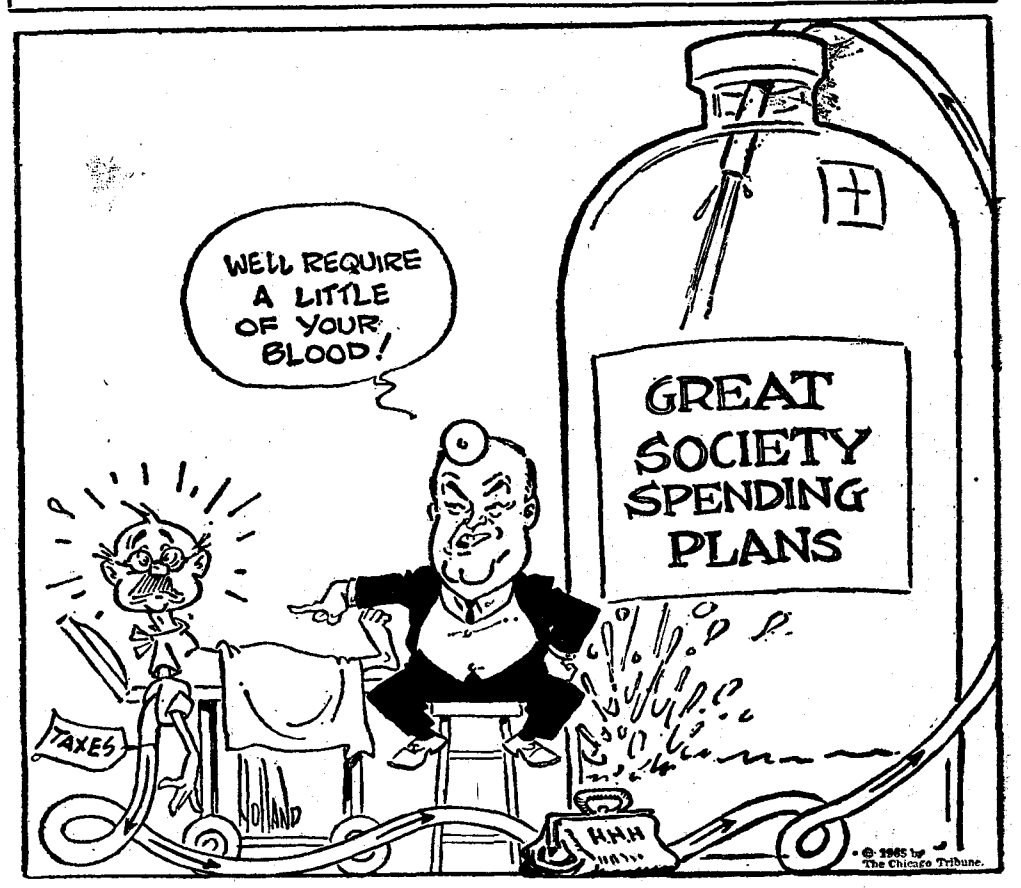
The beginning of this slowdown is now becoming apparent.

□ □ □

POVERTY INCREASE—The poverty warriors have already begun to "upgrade" their definition of poverty. In a recent release, Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity says that a family of four with an annual income under $3,130 and an individual with an income under $1,540 are classified as poor. Previously, the figures were $3,000 and $1,500. Poverty warriors say privately they hope to balloon these figures up even further in the not too distant future.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GREATEST DONOR IN HISTORY



More Income, More Outgo!

Any 'Surplus' Should Be Used To Balance Budget, Reduce Debt

From the San Diego *Union*

In a weird reversal of logic, government economists now are beginning to worry about surpluses of federal income at a time of huge budget deficits and immense national debt.

Ordinarily the word surplus means that federal income is in excess of its spending. However, in the new federal lexicon "surplus" simply means that the income is greater than anticipated, although it still is below the spending level.

Also under ordinary economic principles the average American should applaud the idea that the federal budget is coming closer to balance.

However, under the new economic look in Washington the idea of a balanced budget is viewed with consternation. It tells the federal economists, apparently, that the government is taking more money from the private spending stream than it is returning. To them this means prosperity is being retarded.

Americans could properly ask what business the federal government has in using taxation as a $100-billion annual monkey wrench to manipulate the economy. More properly, the government should be taxing only to meet necessary operating expenses and support policies that give full play to the economic laws of business.

However, the federal government is now deeply entrenched in business and its current worry is that the income from primarily trust funds like Social Security may be short of balancing outgo . . . .

Proposed excise tax cuts, higher federal welfare spending, the Medicare benefits and other programs are not expected to show returns in enough time to slow a "fiscal drag" in the economy, the federal planners think.

It is all an example of what a tangled web the federal government weaves when it begins tinkering experimentally in an area in which it has no business.

To the average person it is a kind of economic never-never land because he knows if he spends more than he takes in for any length of time there will be serious financial trouble.

The same is true, of course, for government. Any way it is figured, the administrative budget for next year will have a deficit estimated from $4.3 to $8.2 billion.

The deficit is part of a continuing trend in recent years. Sooner or later the ability of the federal government to levy more taxes and incur new deficits will end and the bubble will burst.

Unfortunately, the persons hardest hit in the process will be the same taxpayers who have supported the federal burden all along.

We would suggest that if the federal government does have a surplus, it should apply it to balancing the budget. If any is left over it could go toward retiring the huge federal debt.

□ □ □

"GASTRITIS"—The British Medical Association reports that under the state-supported medical program, gastritis has achieved sudden popularity. In the Welch coal mining areas, for example, absenteeism on Monday—occasioned by strenuous imbibing over the weekend—reaches 38 per cent. Under the National Health Service, the worker goes to his physician, gets a certificate certifying his "gastritis" and can be absent without losing pay or holiday time.

WRITERS

N. Y. publisher wants books on all subjects, fiction, nonfiction. No fee for professional opinion. FREE: Brochures that show how your book can be published, publicized, sold; tips and article reprints on writing, publishing, contracts. Write Dept. 701

EXPOSITION 386 Park Ave. So., N.Y. 16

Argument from the '30s Returns

From the Arizona *Republic*

In the current issue of the ultra-left *Nation* magazine, a contributor writing from Havana mentions the so-called "voluntary" brigades of cane cutters who earlier this year were sent to the fields to harvest Cuba's sugar crop.

"There is little doubt that some went off to the fields unwillingly because they are not yet fired with revolutionary zeal, and others went hesitantly because cutting cane is very hard work," the writer notes. But in an attempt to justify the forced conscription he adds: "There is little doubt, too, that most of them returned not only physically more fit but also mentally relaxed and, more important, with the glow of satisfaction that comes from the successful completion of a job, as well as with a feeling of closer kinship with the revolution."

Sound familiar? It should, for this is the same sort of reasoning an entire generation of American liberals used to justify Soviet atrocities and "social engineering" in the decade of the 1930s.

The liberal *New Republic* declared that the GPU (the Soviet secret police) was "no worse than the New York police." Louis Fischer justified Soviet concentration camps as effecting "cure through labor." When Stalin deliberately starved to death millions of Russian peasants during his collectivization campaigns in the 1930s, New York *Times* correspondent Walter Duranty cabled from Moscow: "It may be objected that vivisection of living animals is a sad and dreadful thing, and it is true that the lot of kulaks and others who have opposed the Soviet experiment is not a happy one, but, again, in both cases, the suffering inflicted is done with a noble purpose."

In a recent book review in the Chicago *Tribune*, John Chamberlain explained that he was saved from becoming a Communist because of Duranty. When Chamberlain quoted Duranty on the man-made famine, Duranty denied that he had ever said anything about the famine—a denial that was promptly refuted by another *Times* staffer.

"The whole episode sobered me," Chamberlain noted. "I thought if sympathy toward communism could do what it had done to a talented newspaperman like Walter Duranty, it was not for me. I wanted to be able, as a journalist, to stick to truth no matter what the 'party line' might dictate."

And liberal Irving Kristol, writing in *Commentary* 13 years ago, admitted that "the major segment of American liberalism, as a result of joining hands with the Communists in a Popular Front," denied the existence of Soviet slave camps, blessed the murder of the kulaks, approved the Moscow trials, and "applauded the massacre of the non-Communist left by the GPU during the Spanish Civil War."

One would have thought the non-Communist left would have learned its lesson by now. But the recent *Nation* article raises considerable and disturbing doubts.

ATTENTION

Parents and Friends of Students:

Today's students are getting a one-sided education. Liberalism is the reigning orthodoxy at most of the nation's schools and colleges. Students cannot escape or defend themselves against the unrelenting influence of their Liberal teachers, *unless* we somehow break through the barrier and expose them to the other side of the story. HUMAN EVENTS has been breaching such barriers for over 20 years. The student barrier is not impregnable—it can be broken.

And HUMAN EVENTS can do it!

But we need your help.

Many students either cannot afford or do not know about HUMAN EVENTS. So we are asking you, our loyal readers—parents and friends of students—to introduce as many students as possible to HUMAN EVENTS right now, at the beginning of the school year. Our students—tomorrow's leaders—deserve an honest and independent voice.

GIVE THEM A VOICE THEY CAN REALLY TRUST!

Give them HUMAN EVENTS at our low student rate:

Only $5 for the entire school year

(Regular 10-month rate: $10)

IMPORTANT: If you don't happen to know any students to give gifts to, please don't let this stop you: HUMAN EVENTS has the names of hundreds of deserving students—including a complete list of student editors, club officers, and other campus leaders—to whom we can send your gift subscriptions. Just write "Student of Your Choice" in the space provided below.

HUMAN EVENTS • 410 First Street, S. E. • Washington, D. C. 20003

☐ Enclosed is my check for $_____. (Payment must accompany order, since we cannot afford to bill at this low rate.) Please enter 10-month student gift subscriptions at your Special Student Rate of only $5 each, for the names I have listed below.

☐ Please send me_____(quantity) of your Student Subscription Order Cards to give to students who might be interested in subscribing for themselves.

(A Gift Card will be sent in your name.)

YOUR NAME HERE

_____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

STUDENT NAME _____

School _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

STUDENT NAME _____

School _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

STUDENT NAME _____

School _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How the Liberal Establishment Ran 'Operation Goldwater'

By M. STANTON EVANS

Reprinted from The Liberal Establishment by permission of the author and the Devin-Adair Co., publishers

(Below is one chapter from M. Stanton Evans' conservative classic, The Liberal Establishment. *While this account of how the Liberal media carried on an assault against Sen. Goldwater during the past presidential campaign is a story in itself, it might be well to quote Mr. Evans' definition of the term "Liberal Establishment" which he gives earlier in the book.*

("For the rough purposes of a working vocabulary," he says, "contemporary Liberalism, in its domestic modulation, may be defined as belief in increased centralization of power in the federal government, and in economic 'planning' aimed at the creation of a welfare state. In foreign affairs, Liberalism holds to the idea that Cold War problems can best be settled by 'reasoning' with the agents and principals of the Communist global conspiracy, and cooperating with the 'revolution of rising expectations' among less civilized countries."

(The Establishment, Mr. Evans says, is "a kind of informal junta by which a community is guided in all those things which matter. It is defined by large areas of agreement among its members on key social and political questions, and the remarkable adhesion they display in action when their views are tested by political resistance of the friction of ideas . . . . This book holds that such an Establishment does exist in America, that it labors to make the ideas of Liberalism supreme in our politics, and that its members do work in concert although not necessarily by pre-arrangement."

(This chapter on "Operation Goldwater" illustrates how this Establishment works and what problems conservatives face in getting their message across to the American public.)

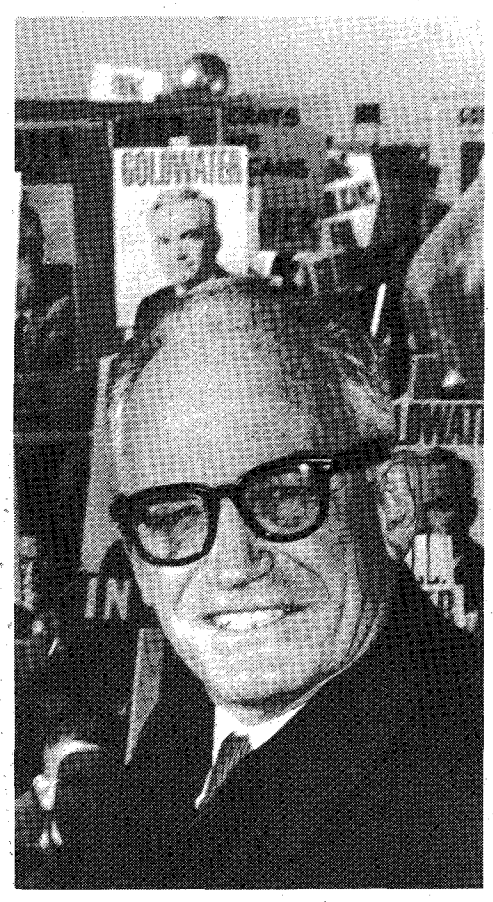
Liberal News Media

While governmental performance will concern us most in succeeding chapters, the power of the communications media—their ability to give the proper "cues" and to achieve a unified presentation for the Liberal program—can hardly be ignored. Liberals in government and in the media work closely together, and it would be difficult to say which of the two is more important. While we can give only passing attention to this fact throughout the bulk of our narrative, it would be misleading if we did not in some measure show how crucial the communications media are to the success of the Establishment.

That the media are by and large Liberal is readily demonstrated. Each of the three television networks is heavily staffed with Liberals. CBS, during the 1964 campaign year, offered the nation such commentators as Eric Sevareid, who writes for the Liberal *Reporter*, Martin Agronsky (an ADAer), Theodore White (former magnifer of the Chinese Communists), and other easily identifiable Liberals. NBC supplied Chet Huntley and Sander Vanocur, neither of whom bothers very much about concealing his Liberal inclinations.

ABC provided such luminaries as Edward P. Morgan, paid broadcaster of the AFL-CIO, and Howard K. Smith, whose idea of journalistic enterprise is to interview Alger Hiss on the failings of Richard Nixon. In addition, the networks frequently call on such Establishment favorites as Louis Harris, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and Liberal Republican Meade Alcorn for "expert" commentary on political matters.

In the mass magazine field, two publications are generally considered "conservative"—the *Reader's Digest* and *U.S. News and World Report*. Both, however, feature heavy factual and/or non-political content, so that their conservatism usually consists in giving both sides a fairly even break. Other mass magazines for general readership tend toward Liberalism. Two of the most aggressively Liberal are *Newsweek* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. *Look* magazine is consciously and unremittingly Liberal. The Luce publications, *Time* and *Life*, sometimes depart from Establishment doctrine but can be usually counted on when the chips are down.



The Goldwater presidential campaign was sparked with enthusiasm but then the 'liberal establishment' went to work on him with disastrous results.

Among daily newspapers of national repute, two—the Chicago *Tribune* and the *Wall Street Journal*—are conservative. Almost every other paper mentioned in the usual lists of "good" papers is Liberal: The New York *Times*, Washington *Post*, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, *Christian Science Monitor*, Baltimore *Sun*, San Francisco *Chronicle*, Atlanta *Constitution*, Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Milwaukee *Journal*.

There are papers influential in their own circulation areas which feature conservative editorial pages, and so offer a countervailing local influence against the Establishment. Almost all, however, are dependent for national news coverage on the wire services, which try hard to be fair, but are often influenced toward the Establishment line.

Liberal dominance in the daily and weekly media is pronounced. But even this is not the entire story. Backing up these front-line forces in the battle for public opinion are still other channels of Establishment influence:

First, the academy, whence most of the opinion-molders have sprung. By every assessment, college faculties are overwhelmingly Liberal, and are not reluctant to get behind Liberal causes in the political arena.

Second, the upper-brow magazines, principally *Harper's, Atlantic, Saturday Review,* and *The New Yorker*—ultra-Liberal all.

Third, the book publishing industry, which readily makes the products of Liberal thought available to the nation, but is sometimes bashful about bringing forth the meditations of conservatives.

Fourth, a sizable segment of the clergy, as represented in the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America, who have taken to unabashed politicking in many instances and who work a powerful influence in behalf of Liberalism even when they are not explicitly political.

And fifth, the motion-picture industry and some television "drama," which, through sympathetic treatment of Liberal themes, can sell the Liberal point of view while entertaining.

On the Beach, Seven Days in May, Fail-Safe, and *Dr. Strangelove* have, for example, probably done more to disseminate nuclear pacifism and fear of our own military—two principal themes of the Establishment—than have all the speeches and pamphlets of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee put together.

TV shows like "The Defenders," "East Side-West Side," discussion programs and the showcasing of such people as Gore Vidal, James Baldwin, John Henry Faulk, David Susskind, Steve Allen, etc., also do their bit.

With this kind of field position in the opinion-molding sectors of our society, Liberalism is able to exert constant and ubiquitous pressure on the public to accept its version of events. This has happened repeatedly in matters of foreign policy. In China, Cuba, Laos, the Congo and Viet Nam, the Liberal media sold the American people a false bill of goods concerning the "agrarian reformer" goals of such as Mao Tse-tung and Castro, and the alleged evils of Chiang Kai-shek, Prince Boun Oum, President Diem and Premier Tshombe.

These are matters, however, outside our present subject. Let us, therefore, select a domestic example, a category in which we could hardly do better than the 1964 presidential campaign between Barry Goldwater and Lyndon Johnson.

The attack against Goldwater was two-fold. In its affirmative phase, it consisted of building up his most likely opposition. In its negative phase, it consisted of relentless hammering at Goldwater's vulnerabilities. In both categories the Establishment effort was formidable, unremitting, and—at last—successful.

The build-up for Republican candidates other than Goldwater originally centered in Nelson Rockfeller. After Nixon's defeat in 1960, it became an automatic assumption among many political commentators that Rockefeller was the "front-runner" for the 1964 GOP nomination. This despite the fact that Republican delegates to the 1960 convention had shown no enthusiasm for Rockefeller, and the fact that Goldwater was better known and better liked at the grass roots of the party than was the New York governor.

As late as September, 1963, the New York *Times* managed to wax effusive over a Rockefeller visit to northwest Illinois, proclaiming "Goldwater Area Likes Rockefeller: Reception Warm in Illinois Bastion of Conservatism," and declaring the visit a "triumph" for Rockefeller and his wife.

In point of fact, as the local newspapers made clear, Rockefeller was boycotted by GOP leaders, received with ordinary civility by his audience, and spent most of his time talking conservatism and praising Goldwater. (In the Illinois Republican primary the following spring, won by Goldwater, Rockefeller got fewer write-in votes than did George Wallace.)

Rockefeller was installed as "front-runner" by media say-so. This is a characteristic Establishment tactic—the self-fulfilling prophecy. By *saying* Rockefeller would be the nominee, the media convinced even Republican pros who didn't like him that he *would* be the nominee. Thus, polls taken in May, 1963 revealed a majority of Republican officials wanted Goldwater in '64, but thought Rockefeller would get the nod.[1]

The Goldwater movement, however, was real and growing, and the policy of the averted gaze became partially obsolete. Full-scale blitzkrieg was needed. The first occasion for this sort of attack presented itself when a Goldwater backer, Donald E. "Buz" Lukens, was elected chairman of the 600,000-member Young Republican National Federation.

The victory was portrayed in much of the Liberal press as a "takeover" of the YRs by "extremists." Lavish attention was paid to statements by outgoing YR chairman Leonard Nadasdy, allied with the Rockefeller forces, and Rockefeller himself, to the effect that the Goldwater backers used "extremist" tactics.

The fact of the matter, apparent to anyone on the scene, was that the truly scandalous tactics, including such maneuvers as switching off microphones where conservatives were trying to speak, were employed by Nadasdy and his Liberal GOP allies.

JFK Assassination

The first all-out assault on Goldwater himself came with the murder of President Kennedy. As noted, the killing was made the pretext for disparagement of conservatives generally and Goldwater in particular. The common theme was that because Kennedy's murder was somehow traceable to the "radical right," popular revulsion would destroy Goldwater's presidential chances. "Goldwater's house of cards," as one observer quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* put it, "has tumbled." No effort was made to commensurate this talk with the known facts of the assassination.

With Goldwater and conservatism thus hopefully disposed of, the Establishment began to bring on its new contender for the Republican nomination, Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton. Although Scranton's experience in elective office was small (one term in Congress, two years as governor), and although he was virtually unknown out-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

side his own state, he suddenly began to appear with amazing regularity in the national magazines.

The Scranton visage appeared (Jan. 27, 1964) on the cover of *Newsweek*; the *Saturday Evening Post* obliged (Jan. 18, 1964) with a flattering profile and mash note from Stewart Alsop; *Fortune* (February, 1964) supplied a character study depicting Scranton as the Galahad of Pennsylvania politics; *Life* (February 28) offered a flattering puff-piece by Theodore White; national columnists Robert Novak and Rowland Evans, among others, raised a threnody about a routine Scranton appearance in the state of Indiana; *Life* did still another cover story, plus eight pages of pictures and text (June 26); *Newsweek* still another cover story (June 22); etc. The self-fulfiling prophecy was hard at work.

Between the time of Kennedy's assassination and the California primary —a stretch of almost seven months— Establishment magazines did numerous cover stories not only on Scranton, but on Rockefeller and Henry Cabot Lodge, depending on which of these appeared to be the leading Liberal contender.

During this same period, they did not do a cover story on Goldwater[2] even though he led in committed delegates at every step of the way, accumulated more primary votes than any of his opponents, and was by early spring the odds-on choice as eventual Republican nominee.

It was not until *after* the last Republican primary, when popular sentiment was no longer a major factor in the nomination, that the magazines yielded him the publicity resulting from a cover story.

Meanwhile, the Liberal media systematically downgraded Goldwater's showing in the primaries. On the night of Goldwater's victory in Illinois, a basset-eyed Walter Cronkite informed his viewers that Goldwater's vote was "disappointing"—amounting to "only" 65 per cent of the ballots.

In the Chicago *Daily News*, reporter Charles Cleveland began his story: "Illinois voters buried Barry." On May 4, *Newsweek* complained that "despite Goldwater's *slippage at the ballot box* and in the popularity polls," he was garnering delegates. On May 18, the magazine said "the week brought fresh evidence of Goldwater's *unpopularity among voters*," citing a poll by Louis Harris and the Indiana primary.

In Indiana, *Newsweek* asserted, "Goldwater managed to make even Harold Stassen look good. Standing in for the other contenders as Goldwater's only opposition in the Indiana primary, Stassen piled up 39 per cent of the vote . . . . " (This statement was flatly untrue; Stassen secured only 26 per cent of the Indiana vote.)

Even in the wake of the California primary, *Time* alluded to the "fact" that *"while others were getting the primary votes,* Goldwater was getting the delegates . . . ." (All italics added.)

All of this would suggest that, at a minimum, Goldwater had secured fewer primary votes than one or another of his opponents. Yet the fact of the matter was that in the 1964 primaries, Goldwater received a total popular vote of 2,147,993, or 47.7 per cent of all GOP ballots cast. His closest competitor, Rockefeller, received 1,262,539, or 28 per cent. From there the list dwindled down through Henry Cabot Lodge (7.6 per cent) and Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (5.1 per cent), to Scranton, who amassed a grand total of 229,528 votes (almost all of these in Pennsylvania), for 5.1 per cent of the total.

In other words, Goldwater had received almost 10 times the popular vote garnered by his ultimate GOP opponent, Scranton. This hardly supported Scranton enthusiast *Time's* bland assertion that *"others were getting the primary votes"* while Goldwater by some perverse magic was getting the delegates.

Goldwater's backers noted that he had outstripped John Kennedy's record in 1960—a record depicted as a triumphal march by the same commentators who discounted Goldwater. Both men were entered in 10 primaries, Goldwater drawing the two-million-plus votes mentioned above, Kennedy some 1,775,250. In the seven states where both were entered, Goldwater polled 100,000 more votes than did Kennedy.

The browbeating of Goldwater on the subject of general popularity and primary funk was nothing, however, compared to the drubbing he received for his stands on public issues. During the New Hampshire primary, for example, the Concord *Monitor* proclaimed in a banner headline that Goldwater favored repeal of Social Security, a flatly untrue assertion.

Social Security, Missiles

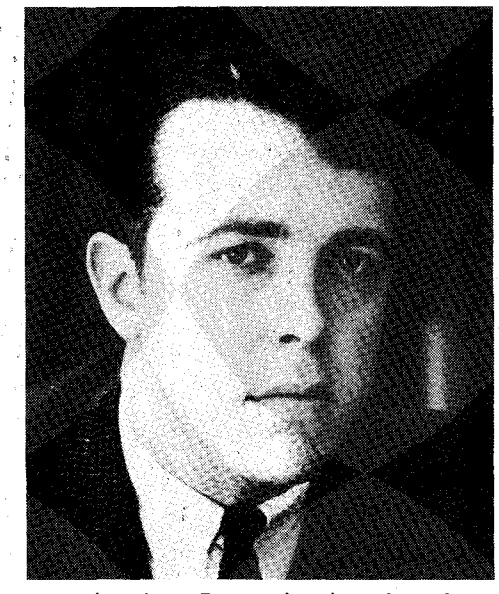
Goldwater had suggested allowing people who had made their own provision to contract out of the system, and permitting those who had religious scruples against it (such as the Amish farmers, in whose behalf Goldwater had introduced a bill in Congress) to refrain from participation. Nor would his approach, as claimed by the opposition, "bankrupt" the program. That job, as is pointed out in a later chapter, is already being handled by the Liberal regime in Washington.

Nevertheless, Goldwater's GOP opponents—principally Nelson Rockefeller —took hold of the issue and would not let go. Liberals in the media referred to it as though it were axiomatic that Goldwater would destroy Social Security. ABC's Howard K. Smith said blandly in one news broadcast, for example, that Goldwater's voluntary stance would "abolish" Social Security.

Also in New Hampshire, Goldwater raised the question of the accuracy of America's intercontinental ballistic missiles. *Newsweek* (Jan. 20. 1964) "covered" this as follows:

"Pentagon officials were stunned and angry. *They refuted Goldwater on the facts;* they rated ICBMs 70 per cent effective and claimed to have long since remedied a potential flaw cited by Goldwater—the possibility that a high altitude nuclear explosion would misguide a missile by erasing its electronic memory. More seriously still, *Goldwater had called into question the very credibility on which the U.S. rests its strategy of peace through deterrence . . . .*" (Italics added.)

The italicized portions, obviously, are not "news," but editorial comment, and comment prejudiced against Goldwater.



Author Stan Evans pinpoints the role of press distortion in the Goldwater defeat.

Shortly before the California primary, Goldwater said in a TV interview with Smith that tactical nuclear weapons might be used to defoliate jungle trails in Asia, but that he did not think they would be. This was given a ride in much of the press as Goldwater's *advocacy* of such action—witness the headline given the story by the San Francisco *Examiner*:

"Barry's Plan to Use A-Bomb." The same issue of that paper carried on its front page a column by Roscoe Drummond, stating Drummond's *opinion* that President Eisenhower had repudiated Goldwater. This column was headlined: "Ike Backs Off Barry." During this same period, segments of the press—notably Jack Steele of the Scripps-Howard newspapers—played up a Rockefeller lament that he had been subjected to innumerable bomb threats, suggesting "extremist" Goldwater backers were willing to commit violence to defeat the New Yorker. In a *news* story on this charge, Steele asserted that he had never seen anything as shocking in all his years of journalism.

All of these attacks were dovetailed into the argument that Goldwater was an "extremist" estranged from the "mainstream" of the party—the principal theme of his Liberal GOP opponents. Yet the statistics showed Goldwater's conservatism was immeasurably nearer the consensus of the GOP than the Liberalism of Rockefeller or Scranton.

At the end of the 88th Congress, there were no less than 16 GOP senators with 70-100 per cent ratings from the conservative group, Americans for Constitutional Action. At the same time, 142 of 178 Republicans in the House had cumulative ACA ratings between 70 and 100 per cent. Rockefeller ally Jacob Javits could claim only a 22 per cent rating—an abyss of "moderation" approached only by Senators Clifford Case of New Jersey and John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky. Goldwater's rating was 98 per cent.

As one of their chief pre-convention issues, Scranton people said Goldwater would drag other Republicans down to defeat. In November, after the elements of disaster had been assembled and fused, this proved all too accurate. But in June and July, according to the opinions of the local candidates themselves, it was not.

Various organizations, including the New York *Herald-Tribune*, the research organization *Congressional Quarterly*, and the Capitol Hill newspaper *Roll Call*, conducted polls among GOP nominees on the effect of a Goldwater candidacy, as they then foresaw it. In each case, by sizable majorities ranging up to 2 to 1, the respondents said Goldwater would help them in their races. These answers were given only perfunctory attention in the national press.

The best proof Scranton backers could muster to the contrary was the assertion of a group calling itself "The Ripon Society," consisting of 10 or so academicians at Tufts, Harvard, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a paper organization without offices or a telephone. Its director, John Saloma, had been a staffer for the Rockefeller-financed magazine *Advance*, now defunct.

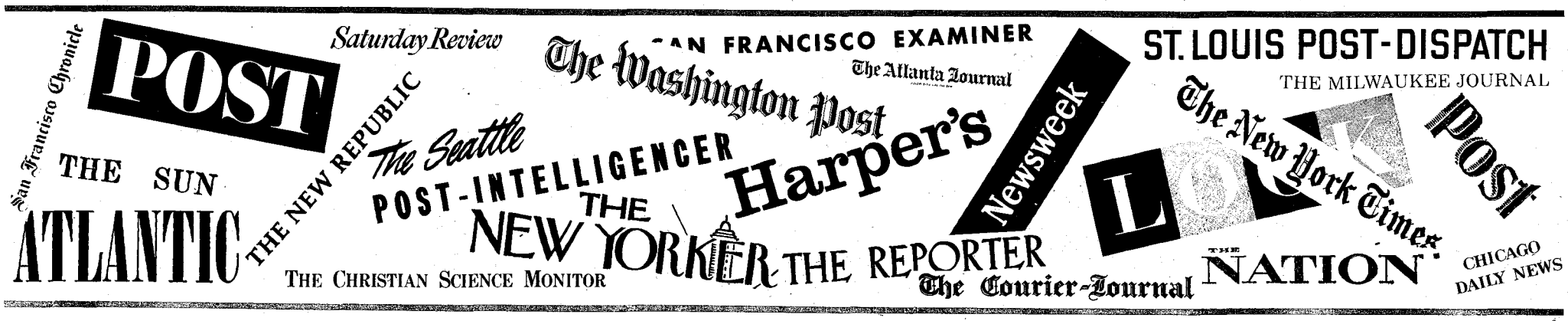
In every respect, "The Ripon Society" was disqualified as a source of impartial information. Nevertheless, when this group said "carefully detailed study" revealed Goldwater would lose 49 of the 50 states and cause the loss of five Senate and 47 House seats, its propaganda was given wide and respectful coverage.

In a story for the New York *Times*, Earl Mazo discussed this handout as though it were some kind of major campaign breakthrough. Undisclosed by Mazo were the shadowy nature of the group and its ties to the Rockefeller-Scranton wing of the GOP. The Mazo story was picked up by papers around the country using the New York *Times* wire service. "Arizonan Sure Loser, GOPs Told," read the front-page headline in the Atlanta *Constitution*. "GOP Memo Sees Disaster in Goldwater," proclaimed the Nashville *Tennessean* in a three-column page-one head. "GOP Group Says Barry Might Lose 49 States," asserted another headline in the San Jose (Calif.) *Mercury*, under the eloquent kicker—"Slaughter."

Thus was blatant anti-Goldwater propaganda served up to thousands of American voters as "news," even as the real news on the same subject, but of an opposite tendency, was quietly played down.[3]

At times the Establishment attempted a double-reverse, suggesting not only that Goldwater was an "extremist," but that in those instances where he appeared *not* to be an extremist he was "changing" and therefore not to be trusted. This point was argued by

(Continued on next page)



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from preceding page)

Kenneth Crawford in *Newsweek* early in the proceedings (Aug. 19, 1963) and was given the full treatment in the press generally after Goldwater staged his August 1964 "unity" meeting with Eisenhower, Nixon, Scranton and other top Republicans at Hershey, Pa.

At that meeting, Goldwater issued a statement saying he was not in favor of abolishing the United Nations, did not want war, and that he favored the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy of "peace through strength." The Liberal media were delirious at the spectacle of the "new Goldwater." Consider the following "news" story by William McGaffin in the Chicago *Daily News*:

"The moderate views [Goldwater] expressed at a 'unity' conference of the Republican high command did not sound at all like the apostle of the conservative gospel who looked with disdain on all but true believers.

"It was a totally unexpected move to a new middle-of-the-road position and it won the all-out support of former President Eisenhower . . . .

"But the Republican presidential candidate's move was so out of character, it may have given him a new problem—one of credibility. Ironically, some of the same Republican critics who have been urging him to mend his views appeared to question, now that he had done so, whether they could actually believe him. They also asked themselves whether the sudden convert could be counted on to stick faithfully to the new doctrine."

All of this, even if true, is in the nature of editorial commentary, and therefore clearly constitutes bias when it appears in the news columns. But it was not true. There was nothing in the statement which Goldwater had not been saying ever since he had declared his candidacy. In New Hampshire, in Illinois, in Indiana, in California, he had made all of the same points; he had even published them in a handbook of his views on major questions. Yet now the repetition of them at Hershey, in a forum where they could not be ignored, was proclaimed as an alteration in his opinions.

Perhaps the most awesome power of the national media—a power usually neglected in squabbles over "misquotation"—is the power to *define the issues*. While television and the magazines and the press cannot manufacture public opinion, they can in large part decide what public opinion will be about. They can zero in on certain matters to the exclusion of others, raise and reiterate certain questions, demand certain answers from one candidate while not demanding like answers from his opponent. This kind of influence was used repeatedly in the 1964 election.

On the eve of the California primary Howard K. Smith, discussing the influence of the John Birch Society in that state, off-handedly described Goldwater as "their man." What would have been the outcry if a newscaster discussing Communist interest in the election, had casually referred to Lyndon Johnson as *"their man"?*

Sen. Goldwater and Rep. Miller, for example, were often challenged to "disavow" the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society. Lyndon Johnson, on the other hand, was not challenged by the media to disavow Americans for Democratic Action or the Socialist party or the tacit support given him by the Communists.

As it happened, of course, the Liberal media did not even discuss the Communists' position in the election, much less pin them to Johnson. Similarly with Norman Thomas and his fellow Socialists. While Thomas campaigned for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket, no Liberal newsman called on these worthies to disavow his support. In short, the media effectively defined the scope of the extremist issue by limiting it to people backing Goldwater, and therefore defined it completely in Johnson's favor.

Another instance of the media's power to define the issues occurred at Goldwater's mid-August press conference in Hershey, Pa., where he raised the question of what weapons had been authorized in the Gulf of Tonkin episode in Viet Nam. The wording of the Administration's statement ordering U.S. counterattacks, he suggested, could be interpreted to include the use of nuclear weapons. In this he was quite correct.

Secretary McNamara's statement on the matter had said American personnel in the area were authorized to respond to attack with "whatever force is necessary"—a loose phrase which, on its face, would include use of nuclear weapons. Having raised the point, however, Goldwater was confronted by a famous TV newsman demanding to know whether Goldwater was *charging* that nuclear weapons *had* been ordered. No, Goldwater explained, he was saying the wording used by the Johnson Administration could be so construed. A furore then developed over what Goldwater had meant when he brought the matter up.

Barry on Defensive

The relevant point is the newsman's driving need to discover just what *Goldwater meant*. No such desire had been manifest in the case of McNamara's original statement. No belligerent demands were made upon the Johnson regime to explain what *it* meant and to spell out just what had or had not been authorized.

In the view of the Liberal media, it was apparently legitimate for those actually disposing of American lives and fortunes in a far-off corner of the globe to be as vague as it suited them about the kind of weapons employed. But it was *not* legitimate—indeed, it was outrageous—for a man not in power, not disposing of those fortunes, to *bring up the subject*. Having done so, he must sustain exhaustive cross-examination on every nuance of his speech and every modulation of his thought.

The result of both episodes was to divert attention from Johnson's actions to Goldwater's *words*. It was, in short, to place the burden of explanation and clarification entirely on Goldwater, and to keep him on the defensive.

A final instance of press ability to focus opinion and magnify certain issues to the exclusion of others appears in the play given various stories in Liberal papers. When New York Republicans Kenneth Keating and Jacob Javits refused to support Goldwater, the Washington *Post* bannered that fact across a full eight columns at the top of its front page.

When Democrat Strom Thurmond not only repudiated Lyndon Johnson but endorsed Goldwater and changed parties—a far more open and revolutionary step than the actions of Javits and Keating—that story was told in a modest secondary story under a two-column head.

With the campaign under way in earnest, outright attacks dressed up as "news" began to fly thicker than ever. On the evening of September 23, the ABC "news" team "covered" Johnson through the usual technique of showing a film clip of an LBJ speech attacking Goldwater. It "covered" a Goldwater speech by having Edward P. Morgan, radio voice of the AFL-CIO, deliver a diatribe charging Goldwater with "unsupported vituperation" and speculating that Goldwater was becoming "desperate." Thus were both candidates given "equal time": Johnson was given his chance to attack Goldwater, and Goldwater was given his chance to be attacked by Edward P. Morgan.

A favorite sport of some Liberal reporters was "crowdsmanship," minimizing the turnout of Goldwater adherents at his various stops and thereby generating the self-fulfilling prophecy of a campaign in trouble.

Exhibit A in this respect was Jack Steele, of "bomb threat" fame. Steele is a veteran Goldwater-crowd-minimizer, having played down Goldwater gatherings as far back as 1963,[4] an experience he put to good use in the presidential campaign. When Goldwater toured the South, Steele wrote, his crowds were "spotty." In Atlanta, he said, Goldwater "drew a crowd which both police and newsmen estimated to be about one third the size of the 150,000 who greeted Richard M. Nixon in the same city in the 1960 campaign." If crowds mean anything, "and they may not," Steele concluded, "those Goldwater has wooed thus far do not seem to justify GOP hopes that he will sweep Dixie on November 3."

Goldwater people, angered by such statements, said the senator's crowds in Atlanta totaled 250,000. Allowing for the opposite bias of these spokesmen, it may safely be guessed the figure was under this. Ben Cole of the Indianapolis *Star* said the crowd was estimated at 200,000. Luke Green, editor of the Atlanta *Times*, said Goldwater's crowds were as large or larger than Nixon's, ranging from 150,000 up to 200,000.

A similar verdict came from James Reston of the New York *Times*, in an article otherwise unfriendly to Goldwater. All of which would suggest that, whatever the actual size of Goldwater's crowds in Atlanta, they were hardly "one-third" the size of Nixon's, as alleged by Steele. (Georgia, of course, was one of the states Goldwater did carry—the first Republican to do so since Reconstruction.)

While the press and TV commentators thus handled Goldwater on a daily basis, the weekly magazines also did their share. Newsweek, **whose treatment of Goldwater we have already noted, was perhaps the most consistent in its unremitting opposition. Not far behind, however, was** Look **magazine, which has made sensationalized articles about the right wing something of a stock in trade over the past few years, and which during the election season focused these down into attacks on Goldwater.**

The present writer's files, which make no claim to completeness, reflect, for example, the following articles in *Look* over a two-and-a-half-year span:

"Who's On the Far Right?" by Fletcher Knebel, March 13, 1962; "Setback for the the Far Right," "produced" by Henry Ehrlich, Sept. 25, 1962; "Rampant Right Invades GOP," by T. George Harris, July 16, 1963; "Memo from a Dallas Citizen," March 24, 1964, by J. M. Shea Jr., a lament about the conservatism of Dallas, Tex.; "Goldwater Speaks," April 21, 1964, a proof-text ransacking of Goldwater's utterances to find embarrassments and contradictions—a technique *not* employed by the same magazine against either John Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson; "Can the GOP Survive Goldwater?" by Richard Wilson, July 14, 1964, a balanced article shamefully slanted by its headline; "What Is a Liberal? What Is a Conservative?" by Joseph Roddy, July 28, 1964, an article disparaging Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr., and Russell Kirk and elevating such people as Peter Viereck and Clinton Rossiter; "Memo About a Dallas Citizen," by T. George Harris, Aug. 11, 1964, a lament about the reaction of Dallas conservatives to Shea's lament about Dallas conservatives; "Race Riots: Goldwater Boon" (subhead: "In many states, the Goldwater position meant: No more Negro progress now."), by Fletcher Knebel, Sept. 22, 1964; and, after the election, a special combination celebrative and mopping-up issue, with "Four Special Reports on CONSPIRACY USA, the Frightened Far Right and How It Operates," a murderer's row of exposes featuring Arthur Larson and his "National Council for Civic Responsibility," Jan. 26, 1965.

The Human Element

During this same span of time, my files fail to reflect any *Look* articles about *The Liberal Papers*, The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, "danger on the left," or the contradictions of Lyndon Johnson.

This is not to suggest that all of what went on in the media with respect to Goldwater was biased; it was not. It would be unfair to tag all TV newscasters, newspaper reporters, or magazine writers with failings that should be traced and attributed to specific individual sources. Nor is it to suggest the unfairness which did transpire was malevolent. Human beings tend to see "facts" through the lens of their own particular beliefs, and to emphasize things which appeal to them. That is human nature, and it takes men of extraordinary self-possession to overcome its frailties.

The fact that too many media people in the '64 campaign did not overcome it, and that the resulting bias was heavily against Goldwater, is merely to say that the people involved are human beings and that most of those human beings are members of the Liberal Establishment.

Read the Whole Story

M. Stanton Evans' new book, The Liberal Establishment, **is quickly becoming a conservative classic. The chapter reprinted on these pages is only a small sample of the wealth of information available in its pages.** The Liberal Establishment **is available directly from** Human Events, **410 First St., S. E., Washington 3, D.C., at $5.95 a copy. All orders are filled the same day they are received.**

1. See "Listening Post: A Head for Rockefeller But a Heart for Goldwater," *Newsweek*, May 20, 1963; "Who'll Run Against Kennedy in '64," *U.S. News & World Report*, May 20, 1963.

2. The single exception: A wrap-up on the New Hampshire primary in *Newsweek* for March 9, 1964, splitting the cover between Goldwater and Rockefeller.

3. Similar page-one heads appeared in other newspapers: "GOP Moderates Say Barry Nomination Would Be Fatal" (Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*); "Fear Loss of 49 States—Secret GOP Memo Sees Barry Defeat" (Boston *Herald*; the memo incidentally, was hardly "secret"; it was released openly to the press and was obviously concocted for that very purpose). "Because of Goldwater—GOP Fears Vote 'Slaughter' " (Decatur [Ill.] *Herald*); "Goldwater Called Disaster to GOP" (Allentown [Pa.] *Morning Call*); "Goldwater Would Lose All: Ripon" (Utica [N.Y.] *Daily Press*).

4. When Goldwater spoke at a GOP $100-a-plate dinner at Hershey in October 1963, Steele reported the Arizonan "got a cool—at times barely polite—reception last night." Steele termed the turnout "poor" and the response of his audience "frigid." The AP, by way of contrast, said: "Applause and cheers burst out repeatedly as he tore into the Kennedy Administration. . . . The applause that greeted Goldwater's introduction turned into a convention-style demonstration . . . The Hershey crowd treated him like a candidate. Repeated rounds of applause greeted every mention of his name and it grew louder when he got tough with Mr. Kennedy." The Philadelphia *Inquirer* said: "The Goldwater speech struck a responsive chord as his listeners interrupted him 25 times with applause . . . . Goldwater, as he was introduced, received a two-minute standing ovation from the audience."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hungary's Kadar Merely Pretends to Soften

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Budapest:—Red chief Janos Kadar, infamous for his part in helping to crush the tragic 1956 revolt, makes a great effort with visiting American newsmen to trumpet his desire "to normalize U.S. relations." But he's never given the slightest indication of this to Charge d'Affaires Elim O'Shaughnessy.

Kadar's current propaganda is dedicated to making it appear (typically) that we're the obstacle to peace and understanding, we're the fly in the Hungarian ointment, we're the ones blocking progress toward a better international life. In short, once again, it's all our fault. Hokus, hokey, hokum.

Behind the scenes, O'Shaughnessy remains thwarted, frustrated, hog-tied

Hungarian Red Chief Janos Kadar makes much talk of "normalizing" relations with the United States.

at every turn. The United States and Hungary having withdrawn ambassadors, he is our ranking diplomat there. O'Shaughnessy has served in Poland, Yugoslavia, England, France, Italy and many other places across 27 years, and O'Shaughnessy can take it. But it becomes very irksome, as in all totalitarian countries, to read what the leaders say for the American press and to know what they actually do against us on the inside.

Foreign Minister Janos Peter still refuses to receive O'Shaughnessy. So does Kadar. Kadar invariably snubs him and O'Shaughnessy to this very day has never had a single word with Kadar or even met him, although O'Shaughnessy has been here nearly two years.

Our embassy here—a large, old six-story building which we own—is officially regarded by our traveling security inspectors as the most microphone-infested in the satellite world. Our ambassador's residence in Prague adjoins the Red Chinese Embassy grounds. We find it practically impossible to determine where Czech and Soviet wire-tapping infiltration and surveillance leaves off and Red China's begins. Here, too, Peking conducts its own separate self-contained electronic and physical intrusion against us, relentless and vicious.

Hungarian men and women who work for us as attendants, chauffeurs, etc., are first channeled through the Hungarian secret police and then constantly harassed by them. On the Red government's orders, O'Shaughnessy's American staff is reduced to a skeleton. As late as August 11 his application to add only one American helper was refused. Official requests to import anything remain stymied for months and border clearance dates utterly uncertain if marked "For U.S. Embassy."

It's easier for tourists to enter because the government desperately needs hard currencies. The casual American visitor runs no risks, facilities have been improved and there's even a tourist currency rate. (It's better than the official rate, but only about half the rate on the black market.) And all this adds to the misleading charade.

Similar double-talk extends to American businessmen unless what they offer is greatly to the Red government's advantage. For example, Cleveland tycoon Cyrus S. Eaton, the very rich crony of the USSR, and his son, with associates, have been referring in America to an intention to build a Budapest hotel. But when?

Eaton holds Moscow's Lenin Peace Prize. He and his family got the red-carpet treatment, as you might expect. But the last news here is that if the highly publicized hotel is built, the Red government now proposes to take all profits from Room 1 through 100, or such, and leave the Eaton crowd with whatever, if anything, may be left over.

Moreover, that's only a starter (apparently) in the provisions, although if Cyrus Eaton, et al., have revealed anything to our public about such hitches when you embrace Red business, it has escaped my notice.

American automobiles are sold into Hungary (from dealers in independent Austria) by labeling them a "gift" package. "Gift" is the official designation on the shipping paper. Graft inside the Budapest government does the rest. More than 200 automobiles have been passed in this way since January, and the Budapest salesmen's commissions deposited in fake names in Vienna banks. Most of the salesmen, of course, are Red bureaucrats.

Even if Kadar and the other propagandists really intended to normalize relations and put trade with us on a sound basis, they would first have to break through the enormous network of graft and corruption and the spaghetti-like mountain of bureaucracy. This is like suggesting that the octopus shed its own tentacles, for the tentacles are in the nature of the octopus and the octopus has a vested interest in keeping them.

The government makes tactical compromises. There are shifts in its self-interest. But "coexistence" remains a one-way street and all the Kadar interviews and pretenses have not changed the situation one whit.

This article is to be dispatched from outside Hungary, uncensored.

(Copyright 1965, United Feature Syndicate)

□ □ □

GOOD STORY—"Jack Valenti (presidential aide) says President Johnson tells the best stories since Lincoln. Maybe—but we'd still like to hear Bobby Baker's."—Jack Wilson, "Potomac Fever."

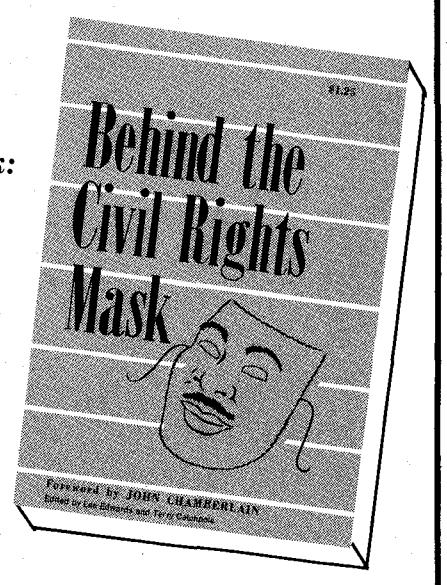
What's The REAL Story Behind Today's Explosive Civil Rights Movement?

Find Out Now!... by reading this startling and revealing new book:

Behind the Civil Rights Mask

Edited by LEE EDWARDS and TERRY CATCHPOLE

With a Foreword by JOHN CHAMBERLAIN



Every Concerned American Should Be Made Aware of This Book!

Use the Coupon to Order Bulk Copies at Discount Prices* — for your friends, neighbors, co-workers, your civic and church groups, and your local community leaders and public servants.

Columnist John Chamberlain commends the editors for recognizing "those leaders of the civil rights movement who regard themselves first of all as Americans. But [the editors] look behind the masks presented by those who regard the Negro as a tool to be used for revolutionary purposes." He goes on to state that "with the rise of the civil rights movement, Leftists of all kinds . . . have leaped to new opportunity. Will they pull it off this time?"

Will these left-wing Negro leaders be satisfied with equal rights under law, or are they planning a total political and economic revolution? Why do many of them issue statements on foreign and domestic policies which have no relation to civil rights? How violent is "non-violence"?

This book answers these and other vital questions by using actual published statements of the civil rights leaders themselves! Some will shock the most sympathetic observer:

- Jesse Gray: **"There are some people who say that the only thing that would solve the problem in Mississippi would be guerrilla warfare. I'm beginning to wonder what will solve the problem in New York. I'm looking for 100 men, very able and ready to be trained and skilled for revolutionaries."**
- Martin Luther King: **"All I know is that the war in Viet Nam must be stopped. And I also know that there must be a negotiated settlement."**
- Bayard Rustin: **"The great task before the Negro of the future will require him to hammer at the basic contradictions of our society and work towards its socialization."**
- James Farmer: **"Our goal now is power, political power."**
- John Lewis: **"We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department, nor the Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power outside of any national structure, that could and would assure us a victory."**

No wonder many Negroes feel justified in breaking the law! These leaders have been making such extremist statements for years, but they have been downgraded or ignored by the press.

Now, for the first time, you can get the whole story of what's really going on "Behind the Civil Rights Mask"—and what it means to you and our country. It's all here in one revealing book. Don't miss it. Use the coupon to order copies for yourself and for those you think will be influenced by it.

Our supply is limited, so send in your order today.

***DISCOUNT PRICES:**

1 copy	$1.25
5 copies	$1 ea.
25 copies	85¢ ea.
50 copies	75¢ ea.
100 or more copies	65¢ ea.

FILL OUT AND MAIL THIS ORDER COUPON TODAY!

HUMAN EVENTS • 410 First St., S.E. • Washington, D.C. 20003

Dept. R1

☐ Please send me, postpaid_____copies of **Behind the Civil Rights Mask.**

☐ Please send_____copies, postpaid, direct to names and addresses I have enclosed, thus saving me the time and the postage.

☐ I enclose $_____(Payment must accompany all orders of $10 or less).

☐ Please bill me.

NAME_____
(Please Print)

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____

STATE_____ ZIP_____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Has LBJ Fanned Riot Flames Here in Washington?

By DON MACLEAN in the Washington *Daily News*

(Human Events *note: The "Home Rule" bill for the District of Columbia, where Negroes are 58 per cent of the population and which is now run by the U.S. government, is an extremely controversial topic in the city and in Congress. Negro leaders have warned of mass marches and trouble in the streets if the bill is not passed.*

(With the memory of the Los Angeles riots still fresh in everyone's mind, President Johnson added to the threats of trouble by remarking on August 26: "Those of you here in the District of Columbia, I want to warn you this morning that the clock is ticking, time is moving, that we should and we must ask ourselves every night when we go home, are we doing all that we should do in our nation's capital, in all the other big cities of the country? . . . Let's act before it is too late."

(Michigan Rep. Gerald Ford, House Republican leader, charged that this statement by the President "amounts to an invitation to trigger terrorism in the streets."

(Ford was not alone in his criticism. Among the many who echoed his sentiments was Washington-based columnist Don Maclean, who wrote perhaps the best explanation of why LBJ's remarks were very unwise. Below is Maclean's column, which appeared the day after the President's statement.)

By now, the President doesn't need the likes of me to tell him how poorly conceived were his remarks about the possibility of a riot here. The editorialists and, I'm sure, his advisers, have already done that. My personal view is that what the President said was the greatest flame-fanning act since Nero and his fiddle at Rome.

What I want to do today is (1) tell the President what it is like to live in the mouth of a cannon, and (2) thank him for making it more likely that some nut will pull the trigger.

I live about 30 blocks from the White House, in a neighborhood called Mt. Pleasant. (In contrast to many of LBJ's leading liberals, who live safely tucked away in Maryland or Virginia.) There's no ghetto of any kind in Mt. Pleasant, not even a white one. I have never had anything but the friendliest relations with my neighbors, be they Negro or white. In short, we are a happy mixture of people who get along just swell. The riots in Los Angeles made all of us nervous, because, in truth, none of us wants any trouble.

There is a serious rate of crime in our area. But it affects everyone equally. The crimes have caused many of us to take precautions. After several attempts were made to break into my house, I surrounded it as best I could with a six-foot fence. After a girl running from an attacker pounded on my door one night seeking safety, I called the police and the next week bought a gun. I figure that something worse may happen another night and I want a gun if he has one. My wife suggested watchdogs and I got two German shepherds.

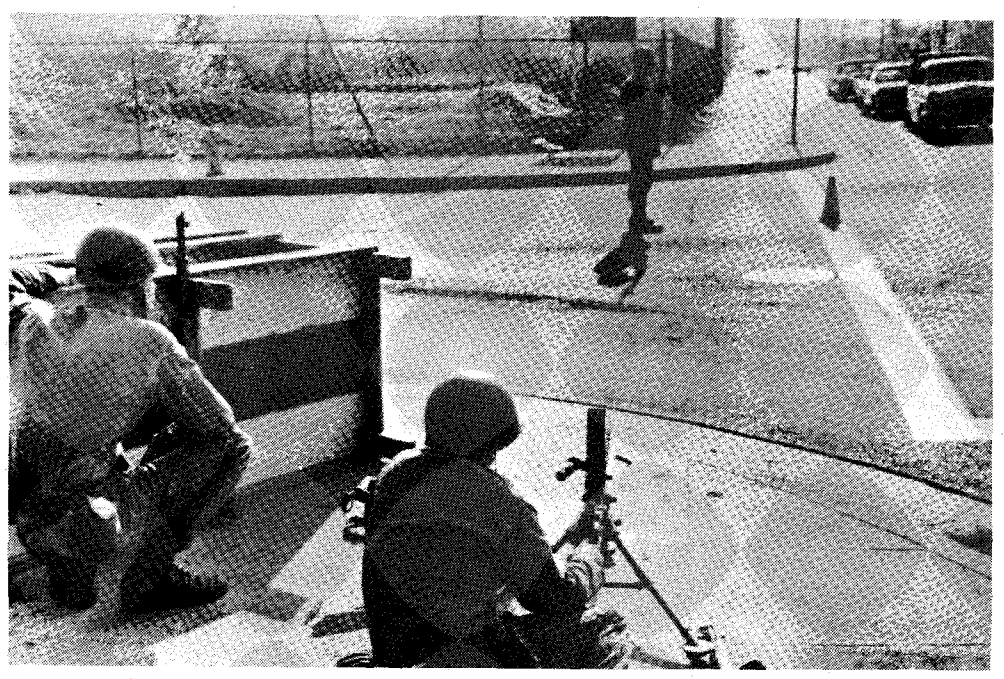
You don't know how it is? Well, on Saturday night in Mt. Pleasant, it is worth your life to walk to the store. An elderly man was killed for $2 in the bright sunlight while washing his car. A man was shot, out by my mail box. Many a night we've watched from

a second floor window as gangs of men have battled in the alley with boards and pipes. Ever hear the "thunk" a pipe makes when it hits a human head? The sound carries quite a distance. What is it like living in Mt. Pleasant? It's calling home often every time you go out to make sure your family is all right.

But President Johnson wouldn't know about any of that because he has never lived in a section of town such as this. He simply wants to get the home rule bill passed and if it takes a friendly little warning about a riot to do it, well, what's power for if you don't use it?

So while the President is down in Texas, we in Mt. Pleasant would like to thank him for the suspenseful days ahead. He certainly used the old bean when he said, "I want to warn you in the District of Columbia that the clock is ticking. . . ."

(Copyright 1965, United Feature Syndicate)



Will National Guardsmen man Washington's streets with machine guns as they did in Los Angeles because of LBJ's remarks about home rule for the District of Columbia?

□ □ □

LITTLE INFLUENCE—Rep. H. R. Gross remembers not so long ago when LBJ visited a Job Corps center at Cacotin, Md., to give the youngsters a pep talk. "Apparently, the President's presence had little influence," Gross says. Forty per cent of the enrollees have dropped out, including 50 boys who quit or were washed out for bad conduct.

Expert Reports:

Why Foreign Aid Doesn't Work

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

I. Robert Sinai is an internationally known political scientist who has taught and guest-lectured at a half-dozen leading American universities, and who has some unorthodox views about world politics and, most particularly, about American foreign aid.

In short, Prof. Sinai believes that aid doesn't work and, except in a few instances, cannot work. He tells why he believes so in an interview in the current *U.S. News & World Report.*

Says he:

"The trouble, I think, is the basic premise underlying the whole philosophy of foreign aid. It is a very materialistic, almost Marxist, approach to the problems of the world. It assumes that mere financial help is enough to bring about great social, cultural and intellectual changes."

To Prof. Sinai the trouble appears cultural, not economic. He sees the aided nations are lagging hundreds of years behind the Western world in development and as inhabited by people whose aspirations and impulses are not like those which developed the unique character of Western civilization.

As he sees it, Africa is tribal with an unproductive, primitive society, and China and India are "backward, traditional nations." Not only are many of the nations "backward," said the plain-spoken professor, but they are "primitive, decadent or corrupt. And some are 'nations' in name only, simply because of the milk of human kindness that flows through the world community today."

Nor do the Russians escape the professor's rough handling. As he sees it, they do have a "dedicated elite who acquired the Western passion to change the universe," but they rely on material strength, and fail to realize that the real strength of Western civilization lies in "recognition of the greatness and worth of the human personality."

The professor doubts exceedingly that the United States can buy its way out of trouble in Southeast Asia with economic aid. He sees no success for President Johnson's aid ideas there, and no solution short of "tough and realistic political policies."

He regards most aid in the Western Hemisphere as wasted, with moderately bright futures only for Puerto Rico, Mexico, Venezuela and Chile. Elsewhere, Turkey, Israel and Formosa have used aid to some advantage. As for talk of a "Marshall Plan" for Asia or Latin America or Africa, it is, in the professor's word, simply a "mistake." He concludes:

"Once the will to achieve is there, as in Western Europe and Japan, then the means will be discovered and the techniques begged, borrowed, or stolen, and there will be development, no matter what the cost is. "If the will isn't there, all the aid in the world merely serves to corrupt the country."

Tough words, those, and they are aimed squarely at a 20-year-old American aid policy, whose failures have been many and manifest, but which always have been glossed over or ignored.

However, more and more people are asking whether foreign aid is worth the price, and are expressing their doubts about its basic worth.

Prof. Sinai's forthright opposition to the aid concept is timely, and it reinforces the position of those in Congress who challenge the Administration's view that endless aid is necessary.

□ □ □

STRIKES INCREASE—The economy lost more man-days to strikes during the first half of this year than in any comparable period in the last five years. More than 2,000 work stoppages, involving 852,000 workers, occurred in the first six months of 1965.

SUPPORT OUR ADVERTISERS

When ordering merchandise from them, mention that you saw their ad in Human Events.

Reprints Available

Two articles appearing in the August 28 issue of HUMAN EVENTS, **The Los Angeles Riots: Whose Fault?** by James Jackson Kilpatrick, and **Civil Rights Leaders Should Blame Themselves for Riots** by George S. Schuyler have evoked considerable interest and comment. These articles have been reprinted back to back on a single sheet, folded to fit size #10 envelope, and are available at the following prices:

Single copies 25¢; 10 for $1; 30 for $2; 100 for $5; 300 for $10; 1,000 for $25; 2,750 for $50.

HUMAN EVENTS, INC.
410 FIRST STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

Please send me _____ reprints from your August 28 issue, for which I enclose $ _____.

NAME_____
(Please print)

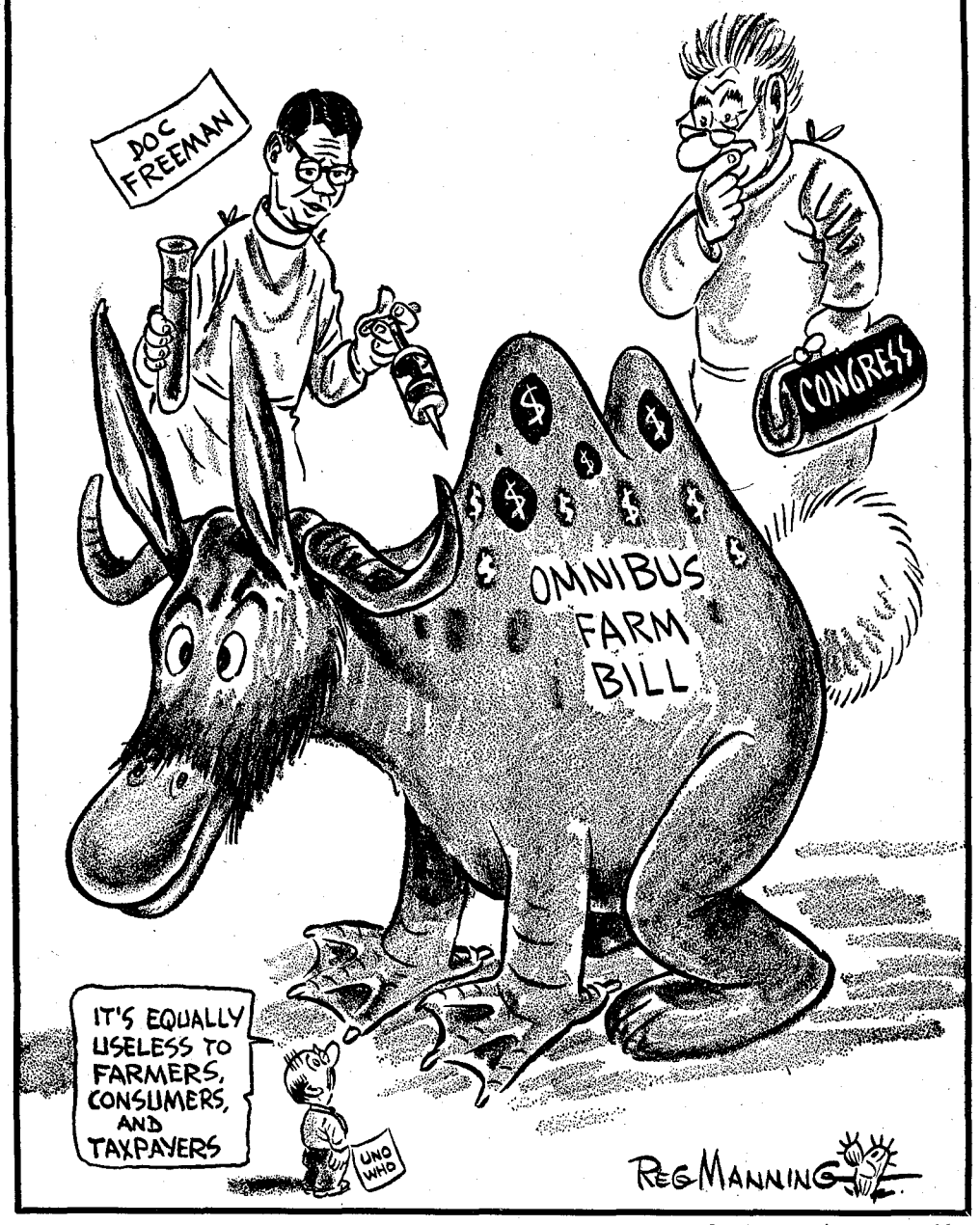
ADDRESS _____

CITY_____ **STATE** _____ **ZIP** ___

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Agricultural Miracle

By Reg Manning
Arizona Republic Staff Artist



Courtesy Arizona *Republic*

ARA Again Broils Taxpayers

From the Richmond *News Leader*

During the course of House debate on the Administration's bill to extend the functions of the discredited Area Redevelopment Administration for five years, several congressmen, including Virginia's Judge Howard W. Smith, took issue with a proposed loan being considered by the ARA. This loan, in the amount of $2.7 million, has been requested by a broiler-producing business in New Castle, Pa.; it is under heavy fire from the National Broiler Council and from other groups of broiler-producers.

It isn't difficult to pinpoint the reasons for opposition to the proposed loan. As a matter of record, the current rate of unemployment in New Castle is 2.4 per cent; the area was removed from the list of depressed areas by the Department of Labor some six months ago. The ARA is confined to making loans in communities where the rate of unemployment is "substantial." Although the loan would result in creating from 300 to 500 new jobs, the Broiler Council says these new jobs would be offset by a resulting decrease in employment elsewhere in the industry.

There also is a question of whether an increase in poultry production would be advisable at this time. In July, the Department of Agriculture warned that broilers were in over-supply, with consequent lower prices forecast. The expanded New Castle operation would place as many as 350,000 broilers a week into a market already saturated by a 10 to 15 per cent overproduction rate.

Obviously, if the ARA loan were granted, the government would be, in effect, financing competition in an industry already beset by severe problems of adjusting its supplies to meet the market's demand.

Anyway, the broiler industry says that the New Castle operation can obtain the money it needs from private sources rather than from the ARA.

Although this particular example of ARA's poor judgment in lending the taxpayers' funds is only one of many, Congress agreed to prolong the agency's life on a five-year basis. Doubtless, during that time, many other examples will materialize of a boondoggle's broilers coming home to roost.

□ □ □

LOBBYISTS BITTEN—Democratic congressmen are putting the bite on Washington lobbyists to finance their 1966 campaigns. Columnist Bill Henry of the Los Angeles *Times* reports the Democratic Congressional Committee recently staged a $100-a-plate dinner, as did one Democratic congressman from California and Rep. Teno Roncalio (D.-Wyo.). There have also been a $50-a-plate "birthday reception" for Rep. Harold Cooley (D.-N.C.), a $50-a-plate dinner for Rep. Arnold Olsen (D.-Mont.) and a $25-a-ticket reception for Rep. Joe Pool (D.-Tex.).

□ □ □

PARAMOUNT RIGHT—Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Calif.) has introduced a constitutional amendment that will, he feels, strike at many of the key causes of crime, including judicial leniency and "bleeding heart" justice. The amendment proclaims: "The right of society in general and of each individual in particular to be protected from crimes against person and property shall be paramount to other rights."

House-Passed Farm Measure Only Continues Bad Program

From the Indianapolis *Star*

One reason the farm program has become so fouled up is that it suffers from conflicting aims.

One of the conflicts was glaringly obvious in the House fight over the wheat proposal. The Administration proposed a higher subsidy on wheat sold for domestic food consumption, to be financed by a sharp increase in the processing tax on wheat going into food products.

It was immediately pointed out that this would raise the prices of wheat flour, bread and other foods in which wheat or flour is a substantial ingredient. The proposal was dubbed "bread tax," and the House wouldn't take it. A "compromise" was reached under which the money to raise the subsidy will come out of the federal treasury. So it won't raise the wheat tax; it will just raise taxes.

The compromise was hailed as a victory of concern for the poor. The theme of the argument against the wheat tax idea was that it would be most burdensome on the poor, for whom bread and cereals are important food staples. The New York *Times* went so far as to comment that the compromise "has the advantage of holding down prices for poor consumers."

Such rot! No part of the farm program holds down any prices for anyone. The farm program holds prices up for the poor and everyone else. That's its whole aim.

If the whole farm subsidy and price support program were abolished, food commodity prices would find their true market level which certainly would be lower than now. Then the poor would really get a break on their food bills.

Although the farm program has been sold, year after year, on the claim that it is for the benefit of the rural poor, it is in direct conflict with the "War on Poverty" which seems so important to the present Administration. It has been in direct conflict with the philosophy of concern for the needy which has been so frequently proclaimed by previous administrations. The bulk of the benefits of the program do not go to the rural poor, the marginal farmers. They go to the commercially successful farmers, who would be successful anyway. The program's harm in higher food prices and higher taxes falls heaviest on the poor.

For many years federal administrations have been concerned with efforts to use America's great food producing potential for the relief of hunger elsewhere in the world. In recent years the government has been trying to promote more exports of agricultural as well as other products.

The farm program is in direct conflict with these aims. A good part of the complexities in which it is getting more deeply mired arise out of efforts to reconcile artificially high American commodity prices with the price levels of world markets.

One of the pitches for the bill now before the Senate is that it would put less emphasis on subsidies and more on incentives to take land out of production. This is supposed to give the commercial farmer more leeway.

The best of all incentives to take land out of production would be the free market's reaction to overproduction. From its inception the farm program has experimented with various efforts to take land out of production. Meanwhile, another government agency, the Bureau of Reclamation, has been busily engaged over these same years in putting new land into production by bringing irrigation water to it. The land reclamation program works directly against the land retirement program, which now is supposed to be the big new thing in farm legislation.

No wonder the farm program is a mess.

□ □ □

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE and disrespect for the law by clergymen have been condemned by the pastor of the oldest Roman Catholic parish in Chicago. The Rev. James F. Cunningham said that "clergymen are expected to uphold the authority, to teach that all properly constituted authority is from God and that legitimate civil or national government is to be obeyed. . . . No matter how much one may dislike an elected office holder, or how incompetent one may think he is, there is a definite and democratic way of rejecting him—this is at the polls."

□ □ □

BRAINSTORM—The Republican Congressional Committee has exposed the latest brainstorm of Job Corps officials at Camp Kilmer, N.J. Enrollees are taught to shoot dice, play faro and roulette—all at taxpayers' expense. Gambling with play money, the youths are supposed to learn that the "house" usually wins and that gambling doesn't pay.

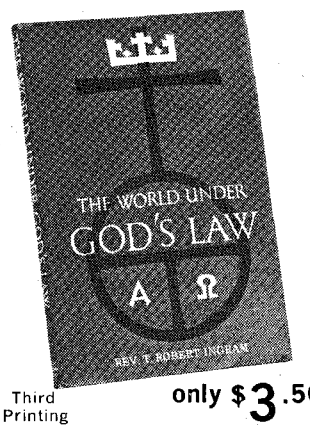
Will criminals rule over us? Children be our oppressors? OR dare we again enforce the criminal laws?

Read

The World Under God's Law

"Criminal Aspects of the Welfare State."

by T. Robert Ingram



Third Printing

only $3.50

The Christian order is Godly, just and lawful. Let's keep it.

ST. THOMAS PRESS, BOX 35096
HOUSTON 35, TEXAS

Send me_____copies of **The World Under God's Law** at $3.50. Check enclosed.

NAME_____
(print)
ADDRESS_____
CITY_____ **STATE**_____ **ZONE**_____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen (1899-1964)

Dedicated Associate James L. Wick (1897-1964)

The Declaration of Independence begins: "When in the course of *Human Events* . . ."

In reporting the news, *Human Events* is objective, it aims for accurate presentation of the facts. But it is *not* impartial. It looks at events through eyes that are biased in favor of limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise and individual freedom. These principles represented the bias of the Founding Fathers. We think the same bias will preserve freedom in America.

President and Executive Publisher	Milton I. Wick
Publisher	Kenneth W. Ingwalson
Executive Editor	Thomas S. Winter
Capitol Hill Editor	Allan H. Ryskind
Business Manager	Robert D. Kephart
Managing Editor	Robert F. Latham
Assistant Editor	Gary W. Russell
Art Director	Jack Stricker
Editorial Production	Ricky J. Lloyd
Shipping Manager	Ray McMurray
Contributing Editors	Frank Chodorov
	Edna Lonigan

Bound Volumes indexed: July-Dec. 1963, $18. April-June, 1963, $18. Jan-March, 1963, $18. Second six months, 1962, $15. First six months, 1962, $15. Second six months, 1961, $15.

WHEN WRITING ABOUT YOUR SUBSCRIPTION—an address change, a renewal, a question, a complaint-SEND THE ADDRESS LABEL ON YOUR WEEKLY *HUMAN EVENTS* for address changes. Use zone numbers.

HUMAN EVENTS cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of *HUMAN EVENTS*.

Published weekly at 410 First Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003. One-year subscription, $12.50. Two-year subscription, $19.90. Five week subscription, $1.

LET YOUR EDITOR KNOW

Newspaper editors are glad to know the preferences of their readers. Your recommendations and those of your friends may cause your editor to choose a conservative columnist rather than a liberal the next time he makes a change. The syndicated columnists whose writings appear in Human Events are:

Holmes Alexander	Barry Goldwater	Russell Kirk	Dr. Max Rafferty	Henry J. Taylor
The Allen-Scott Report	Paul Harvey	Irene Corbally Kuhn	Victor Riesel	George Todt
Constantine Brown	Jenkin Lloyd Jones	Victor Lasky	Donald I. Rogers	Walter Trohan
John Chamberlain	Howard Kershner	Fulton Lewis Jr.	Morrie Ryskind	Alice Widener
Ralph de Toledano	James J. Kilpatrick	John O'Hara		

CONTENTS

NLRB Chairman Challenged on GE Decision—By Donald I. Rogers....2

Chattanooga Youth Corps Expenses Are Example for Rest of Nation—From the Chattanooga News-Free Press....2

How HARYOU Has Wasted Funds—From the Allen-Scott Report....2

McNamara Breaks Spending Record, Yet U.S. Troops Lack Many Items—By Barry Goldwater....3

Automatic Raises for Congressmen Hidden in 'Salary Adjustment' Act—By James Jackson Kilpatrick....3

California Leftists Plan Worldwide Protest—By Fulton Lewis Jr....6

Why Not $100 an Hour?—By Russell Kirk....6

Inflationary Wage Increases Slow Down Building Industry—From the Weekly Labor Forecast and Review....6

Argument from the '30s Returns—From the Arizona Republic....7

Any 'Surplus' Should Be Used To Balance Budget, Reduce Debt—From the San Diego Union....7

How the Liberal Establishment Conducted Operation Goldwater—By M. Stanton Evans....8

Hungary's Kadar Merely Pretends to Soften—By Henry J. Taylor....11

Has LBJ Fanned Riot Flames Here in Washington?—By Don Maclean in the Washington Daily News....12

Why Foreign Aid Doesn't Work—From the Omaha Evening World-Herald....12

House-Passed Farm Measure Only Continues Bad Program—From the Indianapolis Star....13

ARA Again Broils Taxpayers—From the Richmond News Leader....13

Some Questions for the Clergy—From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat....14

Life Behind the Berlin Wall—From the Bulletin of the West German Press and Information Office....14

Spotlight on Congress....15

Life Behind the Berlin Wall

From the *Bulletin* of the West German Press and Information Office

With 200 to 250 suicides a year, East Berlin has the highest suicide rate in Europe. This glum record is noted by a West Berlin study group that calls itself "Study Group August 13th" in reminiscence of the day in 1961 when the Communist-built Berlin Wall went up. The group has just published a collection of facts on the terroristic Communist regime that has been in power in the Soviet-occupied parts of Germany since 1945. The following are some of the details reported in connection with the coercive treatment to which the Germans of the Soviet Zone are exposed:

Between 1945 and 1950, some 180,000 persons were put into 15 concentration camps established by the Communists. Of these detained persons, 89,000 have died. • During the same period, 31,000 persons were deported to the Soviet Union. • In the 10 years following 1945, Soviet military tribunals condemned 45,000 Germans, at least 222 of them to life sentences. • Since 1949, Soviet Zone courts have sentenced with imprisonment for political reasons at least 75,000 persons. • The Soviet Zone Ministry for State Security at present employs a staff of 17,000, a large proportion of whom work among the population to spy on them. • Between 1949 and the end of 1964, a total of 2,844,430 persons fled from the Soviet Union or East Berlin, 23,000 of them soldiers or policemen from the "People's Police." As far as is known to the West, the deaths that have occurred, because of attempted flight, number 126.

Some Questions for the Clergy

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

We are confident that the clergy who have taken part in any of the lawless demonstrations in the name of "civil rights" will ignore Sen. Robert Byrd's criticism of their activities as "shocking." In their own minds these ministers, priests, nuns and rabbis are as firmly convinced of the rectitude of their actions as Gov. Wallace is of his.

Like Sen. Byrd, we cannot impugn the motives of the clergy. But we do ask that they review what the nation is reaping in order to re-evalue what they have sown.

First, the clergy tolerated and then urged disobedience of bad laws, such as Southern laws ordering segregation of bus terminal lunch counters. These laws were then dutifully violated by massive sit-ins and the majority of the nation applauded. But somehow, as could have been predicted, the connection between the disobedience and the "bad laws" was lost.

Is it a bad law that forbids strewing New York sidewalks with garbage, blocking bridges at rush hour? Is it a "bad" law that says one must not block Chicago's streets or interfere with movement in public offices?

Yet clergy have violated these supposedly "good laws." Why? To draw public attention to certain grievances of the Negro community, for instance the failure to bus Negro children to white public schools, they respond.

Well, Catholics in Missouri cannot have their children bussed to Catholic schools, which they feel is a deep injustice. Having failed to get this "grievance" redressed in the legislature, should they block the streets of city and county? Or do Negro grievances alone justify violation of local ordinances?

Radicals and pacifists in California believe they have a right to block trains to protest our Viet Nam policy. Many Americans believe our policy of recognizing Communist nations is immoral. Should they block the embassies of these nations with their bodies?

We ask the lawless demonstrators among the clergy this: What would happen to the rights of us all if every group which felt it had a legitimate grievance followed your example in protesting it?

In honesty, is the answer not chaos and the destruction of the society which has given us all such a measure of freedom and so many legitimate means of redress?

The clergy will say Sen. Byrd is wrong in denouncing them for inciting violence when all their lawless demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience have been non-violent. Technically, the clergy is right.

But a man is responsible not only for his actions, but the results of his actions if he can both predict them and avoid them.

A hundred ministers, priests and nuns parading down the main streets of a racially embittered rural Dixie town in mid-June, in violation of local ordinances and a century of ingrained custom, may be a non-violent demonstration.

But is it not provocation, an incitement, an agitation of the short-tempered, ignorant red-necks in that area?

Suppose some concerned Alabamans, upon reading of the horrors of New York streets, took it upon themselves to drive to Gotham en masse and obtain a permit to march, one hot June afternoon, down 125th street in Harlem, with placards damning black violence on the subways and demanding laws to preserve the community from ravages of Negro criminals.

That demonstration might be technically non-violent, but were one of those whites hit with a brick from a rooftop or shot dead, could the whites say they did not provoke anyone, that they had no responsibility for the ensuing death?

Can the northern clergy who spent a day down in Dixie marching in front of the enraged white community really say they are in no way responsible for the climate of racial bitterness and tension that followed, out of which came some berserk night rider to murder a woman on a highway?

Is there greater understanding and love between the races in Chicago or Selma because clergy lay down in the streets of one or marched in the streets of the other? We think not.

□ □ □

Lyndon's Relatives Receive Nice Jobs

Although President Johnson still ranks second to his predecessor, John F. Kennedy, in the nepotism department, columnist Ruth Montgomery in the Hearst Headline Service finds that the Texan is gaining fast. So far, LBJ has added the following relatives to the public payroll:

• A brother-in-law, Antonio J. Taylor, operator of an import handicraft store in Santa Fe, N.M., recently completed a four-week mission to Latin America as a $75-a-day foreign aid consultant.

• Johnson's niece, Diane MacArthur, three months ago was appointed to head up a division in the Peace Corps. She had first turned up on the federal payroll when LBJ was made vice president.

• Another LBJ brother-in-law, Birge D. Alexander, has just been named to head up a new southwest area office of the Federal Aviation Agency.

• Patsy Derby, an LBJ cousin, is a White House secretary, frequently accompanies Luci on trips.

"All of which goes to show," reporter Montgomery sums up, "that there's nothing new under the sun."

□ □ □

AUTOMATION — Two workmen were watching the operation of an immense piece of equipment which shoveled 50 tons of earth in one scoop. One of them turned to the other and said: "Joe, if it weren't for that blasted shovel, 500 of us might be busy with our spades." "Sure," replied Joe, "and if it weren't for spades, a million of us might be using teaspoons!"—From the *Jay-Bee Upsondowns*

MOVING?

ALLOW 4 WEEKS FOR YOUR CHANGE OF ADDRESS—so that you won't miss issues of Human Events. To notify us of your change, simply:

1. **Print your new address on a plain sheet of paper;**
2. **Attach a copy of the old address label from your last issue of Human Events and**
3. **Send it to:**

HUMAN EVENTS
410 First Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Attention: Subscriber Service

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"Public debt is not like private debt. If private debt is not paid off, it can be ended by bankruptcy proceedings, and maybe not many people are hurt. If public debt is not paid off—paid off with taxes—the result is disastrous inflation or repudiation. Either would destroy our form of government."
—Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.)

Film on Johnson

By REP. EDWARD GURNEY (R.-Fla.)

It has been brought to my attention that taxpayers' money is being spent to film the life of President Johnson. Reportedly some $80,000 has been spent thus far on the making of the film for distribution overseas by the United States Information Agency.

Now, you may recall that in June Congress approved the showing of the John F. Kennedy film in the United States. At that time I voted no on this resolution when it came before the House, stating that Congress was setting a dangerous precedent. I pointed out that an Administration in power could produce films at taxpayers' expense to favorably depict its role in government and downgrade the opposition simply by omission.

The USIA is now filming *The Texas Story*, which attributes the Southwest's progress to President Johnson. I think this is a gross misuse of taxpayers' money. Although the USIA says that the film is scheduled for showing only in foreign countries, the next logical step for the Democratic National Committee is to come up with some excuse for showing it in this country. The Kennedy film was produced strictly for showing abroad only. So said its Democratic sponsors. Now it's being shown in the United States. Now where do we draw the line on spending taxpayers' money for combating communism abroad and on political advertising for a person or a party seeking to perpetuate itself in power?

Wheat Deal

By REP. E. ROSS ADAIR (R.-Ind.)

The previous wheat deal with the Soviet Union served no useful purpose to U.S. foreign or domestic policy. The Soviets, through our largesse, were able to meet previous commitments made to Cuba and her satellites in Eastern Europe. With Soviet missiles shooting down our flyers in North Viet Nam, there is even less reason to conduct such trade now.

Inflation Hurts All

By REP. MELVIN LAIRD (R.-Wis.)

After last year's tax cut most Americans felt that their spendable income would be substantially higher than in the past. Most Americans are in for a disappointment if this is their belief. The 1964 federal income tax cut did reduce taxes for most Americans, but other factors—also government generated—threatened to more than offset tax reductions. These other factors include the rising cost of living and higher payroll taxes next year.

Let's look at this in terms of a concrete example. A family of four who earned $6,000 before taxes in 1963 will have to earn $6,175 in 1966 even after it feels the effect of the tax cut in order to have the same purchasing power it had in 1963. The tax cut for this family of four amounts to approximately $150 per year. Yet, even with their taxes reduced by this much that family must earn an additional $175 per year in order to be able to buy the same goods and services they bought in 1963.

The reason stems from bad government policies on the federal level that lead inevitably to inflationary pressures on the economy. Inflationary pressures on the economy directly affect the purchasing power of the dollar. When inflation sets in, you have to pay more money to buy the same services and the same goods you bought at a cheaper price the month before, or the year before, or the decade before.

This is one more example of how ill-advised government policies at the federal level can directly penalize the very people federal programs are designed to help. And it is a major factor in the continuing determination of Republicans to restore fiscal sanity to our federal government policies.

Deficit Spending

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

When some people question the reason why I am voting for economy in government—often in opposition to embarking upon vast new spending programs—my answer is that it is one thing to engage in deficit spending to meet an emergency, and quite another to continue deficit spending in a period of national prosperity. Such a fiscal policy weakens the value of the dollar, intensifies the outflow of gold and leaves us with little with which to meet a possible emergency, be it an economic downturn or an international crisis. This "eat, drink and be merry" attitude of today, letting tomorrow take care of itself, is a national mood that portends a tomorrow of great regret.

Tax Avalanche

By REP. FRANK BOW (R.-Ohio)

The tax cut, ostensibly beneficial, is turning out to be the trigger for an avalanche of new taxes. The federal government is behind this snowballing of taxes. First, the federal cut made it look like the taxpayer was getting a break. Local units moved in quickly to take up the slack. In fact, this year, for the first time in history, local government will match Uncle Sam in expenditures for goods and services—$68 billion. From 1955 to 1965, federal taxes went up 72 per cent. State taxes have climbed 136 per cent and local taxes 117 per cent during this decade. Second, by offering "grants in aid" on a matching fund basis, the federal government has stimulated frenzied activity by local units with tax power to raise more money to "get" their share of federal dollars. Thus, local taxes are raised and raised. With increased Social Security taxes and spiraling taxes all around, the taxpayer could well be far worse off in a year or so than if he had not been "helped" by the tax cut.

Law and Order

By REP. E. Y. BERRY (R.-S. D.)

The citizens' respect for law and order is the adhesive which binds together a civilized society. This respect extends to those lawfully commissioned to enforce the law, as well as the law itself, even when that law might be personally objectionable. In most of the riots, lootings, burnings and killings this nation is experiencing today, most of the columnists, commentators and officials are quick to point out that these are not racially inspired. One wonders if it would not be less embarrassing to agree they were racially inspired than to admit the adhesive is deteriorating and that society is becoming less civilized.

Consular Treaty

By REP. WILLIAM HARSHA (R.-Ohio)

This consular convention treaty with the Soviet Union is one of the most dangerous and preposterous mistakes that has yet been advocated by the State Department. This is another dangerous error in a long list of miscalculations of Russian intentions by the State Department, and only an aroused American public can stop Senate ratification of this treaty. The treaty signed in 1964 by Russia would allow Russia and other Communist nations to expand consular agencies in the United States and to staff them with intelligence agents and other operatives who would be immune from prosecution in the United States for espionage or other criminal violations. This convention is the first to which the United States has been a party which provided for unlimited exemption from criminal jurisdiction for consular personnel, and provides the basis for a nationwide Communist spy and subversion ring with protection from prosecution. J. Edgar Hoover has warned that such an agreement was a "cherished goal of Soviet intelligence services." He said: "None but the most naive and totally misinformed would doubt but that the Communists will take full advantage of such a treaty to expand their espionage and subversion activities in this country under the cloak of protection provided by this treaty. This is a clear indication of the foggy thinking at Foggy Bottom and is a prime example of why the American public has little faith in the activities of our State Department.

Getting Tax Money

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

It must have delighted American taxpayers everywhere to learn that hardly had the shooting, looting and burning died down in the Watts area of Los Angeles before Sargent Shriver, boss of the Office of Economic Opportunity ("War on Poverty"), backed by Lyndon Johnson, rushed out $1,770,000 to hire 2,000 local residents to clean up the rubble. And, it was announced in Washington, another $20,000,000 in so-called poverty funds would shortly be on the way to Los Angeles. With 35 dead and $175,000,000 to $200,000,000 worth of property either destroyed by fire or stolen, the Negro insurrectionists of Los Angeles were getting their pay-off. As one gangster put it: "What Watts needed was rebuildin'. Now we made sure they're gonna have to rebuild it. And it's gonna mean some jobs for Negroes here, like me and my old man." Thus it appears that the latest successful formula for the extraction of millions of dollars from American taxpayers is a resort to the gang techniques of arson and terror, the destruction of life and devastation of property. Incredible are the ways of the "Great Society."

Double Standard

By REP. BOB DOLE (R.-Kan.)

There appears to be a double standard in the definition which some members apply to the term "home rule." I refer to the inconsistency of many now urging extraordinary legislative procedure to enact so-called "home rule" for residents of the District of Columbia, while at the same time ignoring the fundamental right to self-government of the people of the 50 states. Recently the White House sought to coerce the House regarding "home rule" for the District. On the TV program "Face the Nation" Martin Luther King inferred it might be District rule or District riots. Strangely, however, this Administration remains indifferent to the many proposals for a constitutional amendment which would preserve for the people of the various states the right to determine the structure of their own legislatures. This right, so historically basic to the process of representative government in this country, was destroyed by the United States Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" decree of June 15, 1964. Much like the slogan "home rule," the slogan "one-man, one-vote" is misleading. Confronted by the action of the judicial branch and the inaction of the executive, it remains for the Congress, despite the reluctance of the powers that be on the House Judiciary Committee, to protect not slogans, but the substance of representative government. If the members of this body are expected to respond to the clamor of those calling for self-government in the District of Columbia, then let these "home-rule" advocates also recognize the right of our sovereign states to apportion their legislatures. Many of us strongly believe in local self-government, but how can we close our eyes to one problem and, at the same time, embrace another?

Buying Power Down

By REP. PRENTISS WALKER (R.-Miss.)

The buying power of the American dollar has dropped to about 47 cents and of every dollar we get today, 37 cents goes back to either the state, local or federal government in the form of taxes of one kind or another. So by the time you do a little figuring, you can easily see that when it is all over, we can say that after taxes, our dollar will buy less than 40 cents worth of goods. This is what I call economic irresponsibility.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

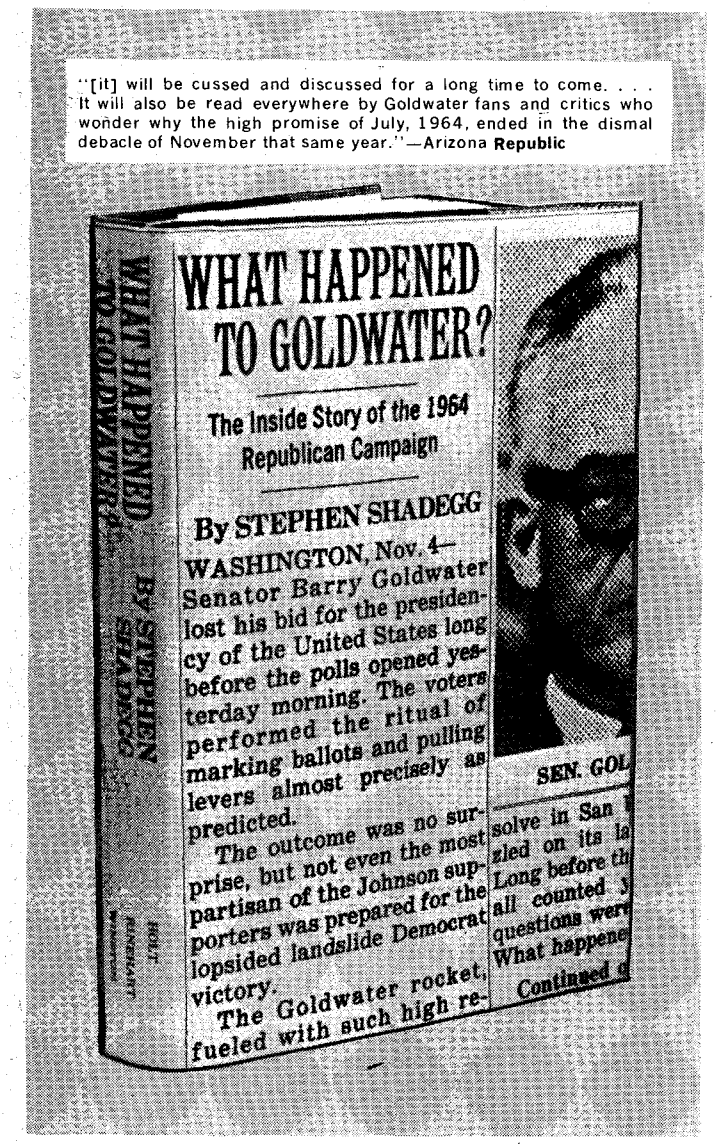
An Inside Story of the 1964 Republican Campaign:

What Happened to Goldwater?

by Stephen Shadegg

A Book Conservatives Have Been Waiting For!
And You Can Get It FREE*... If You Act Now!

"[it] will be cussed and discussed for a long time to come. . . . It will also be read everywhere by Goldwater fans and critics who wonder why the high promise of July, 1964, ended in the dismal debacle of November that same year."—Arizona **Republic**



Why, we've *all* asked ourselves again and again, was Goldwater so badly beaten? Until now, none of us have known the whole answer—the answer that might make the difference between defeat and victory next time.

Only a man with Shadegg's intimate personal knowledge, political know-how (he managed Goldwater's two Senate campaigns and was Regional Director for the Western states during the Presidential campaign), and, most important, his candor, could have written this book. Everyone agrees that it is possibly the most authoritative account of the man and of the events that took place before, during and after the 1964 election campaign.

Even the liberal Washington **Post** admits that "Shadegg compels respect because of the straightforward, professional character of the analysis . . . [which] casts new light on Goldwater and raises intriguing possibilities."

Here are just some of the **inside** stories you will find in this book:

- **The assassination plot.**
- **The campaign speeches: their weaknesses.**
- **Why Kitchel, and not Shadegg himself, was picked to be campaign manager.**
- **The biggest mistake the Goldwater people made.**
- **Who wanted to squelch the Reagan TV speech?**
- **Why were the early backers—Clif White, Peter O'Donnell—kept out of the inner circle?**
- **How much did conflicting personalities and bad planning affect the final outcome?**
- **Did the press and TV coverage deal the deciding blow?**
- **Phone tapping by the Democrats.**
- **Did Goldwater really want to run?**

This is only a taste—the book is loaded with page after page of such provocative information. **What Happened to Goldwater?** is the book conservatives have been waiting for—so what are **you** waiting for? Get it now.

HERE ARE 3 WAYS TO GET THIS EXPLOSIVE NEW BOOK:

***1. RENEW your subscription for 2 years at the low discount rate of $19.90, and get the book absolutely FREE and postpaid. You save $5.95 on the book plus $5.10 on the subscription!**

2. RENEW your subscription now for 1 year—no matter when it is due to expire, we'll simply extend it—at the regular $12.50 rate, and we will send you the book for just $2.50 postpaid. You pay only $15.00.

3. GIVE just ten $1.00 Trial Subscriptions to HUMAN EVENTS, and pay only $2.50 for the book, for a total of $12.50.

Check your preference below and mail in your order today! We have only a limited supply of this book, so we must take all orders on a first-come-first-served basis.

GIVE THEM A VOICE THEY CAN REALLY TRUST!

Give HUMAN EVENTS to those you think will profit from it—your friends, co-workers, civic and business leaders.

HUMAN EVENTS 410 First Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003

YOUR NAME (Print) _____ 9-11
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ ZONE ____ STATE _____

CHECK YOUR PREFERENCE:

1. ☐ Renew my subscription for 2 years for $19.90 and send me a FREE copy of the book. ☐ I enclose $19.90. ☐ Please bill me.
2. ☐ Renew my subscription for 1 year at the regular $12.50 rate, and send me the book for just $2.50 postpaid. ☐ I enclose $15.00 ☐ Please bill me.
3. ☐ I have given ten $1.00 trial subscriptions. Send me the book for $2.50. ☐ I enclose $12.50 (Payment must accompany orders for trial subscriptions.)

NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card
NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card
NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card
NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card
NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card	NAME (Print) _____ ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZONE ____ ☐ Send Gift Card

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED